

'Writing Consciously for a Small Audience': An
Exploration of the Relationship between
American Magazine Culture and Henry James'
Italian Fiction 1870-1875

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PhD

I, Louis Laurence Leslie, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I can confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Thesis Abstract

This thesis explores Henry James' engagement in his relatively neglected early fiction about Italy with material from contemporary magazine culture. By bridging the gap between critics who focus on James' relationship with Italian culture, and those who examine James' relationship with his publishers and audience, it aims to explore how he uses interest in Italy manifested in literary magazines to develop his writing and build his reputation.

The first part of the thesis explores how James writes about Italian culture in his first tales in ways with which his audience would be familiar, in order to cultivate his readership. The first three chapters deal with 'Travelling Companions' (1870), 'At Isella' (1871), and 'The Madonna of the Future' (1873) respectively. Looking at how magazines represent contemporary debates about the Italian artists and works of art that James depicts, I study the way James draws on this context to emphasise the relationship between culture and character in his fiction.

The second half examines his fiction after 1873 in the light of James' sense of his emerging literary reputation. Aware of his growing fame, James began to write tales incorporating material from his own serialised travel writing, thus reinforcing his reputation as a writer about Italy. The penultimate chapter explores this aspect of 'The Last of the Valerii' (1874) and 'Adina' (1874). In the last, discussing his first novel, *Roderick Hudson* (1875), I examine how James draws together material from his earlier tales to construct this longer narrative, and presents the overlapping themes in a way that allows his informed readership an enhanced appreciation of some elements of the plot. The conclusion briefly explores how James' later fiction engages with his readership in a similar way, depending on the magazine he is writing for.

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother, Pamela Broady Leslie (1951 - 2003).

Abbreviations

Full details of all works cited can be found in the bibliography. I have selected editions of the fiction that reproduce the original magazine text. The following abbreviations are used throughout the thesis:

Adina	Henry James, 'Adina', in <i>The Complete Tales of Henry James: 1872-1875</i> , ed. by Leon Edel (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), 211-257.
CL[Years]:[Vol.]	Henry James, <i>The Complete Letters of Henry James</i> , (6 Vols.), ed. by Pierre A. Walker & Greg W. Zacharias (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007-2013).
Isella	Henry James, 'At Isella', in <i>The Complete Tales of Henry James: 1868-1872</i> , ed. by Leon Edel (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), 316-340.
LV	Henry James, 'The Last of the Valerii', in <i>The Complete Tales of Henry James: 1872-1875</i> , ed. by Leon Edel (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), 89-122.
MF	Henry James, 'The Madonna of the Future', in <i>The Complete Tales of Henry James: 1872-1875</i> , ed. by Leon Edel (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), 11-52.
RH	Henry James, <i>Roderick Hudson</i> , in <i>Novels 1871-1880</i> (New York: Library of America: 1983), 167-511.
TC	Henry James, 'Travelling Companions', in <i>The Complete Tales of Henry James: 1868-1872</i> , ed. by Leon Edel (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), 171-225.

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Introduction

I have quite given up on the idea of making a few retrospective sketches of Italy. To begin with I shall not be well enough (I foresee) while here; & in the second place I had far rather let Italy slumber in my mind untouched as a perpetual capital whereof for my literary needs I shall draw simply the income – let it lie warm & nutritive at the base of my mind, manuring & enriching its roots (*CL1855-72:2*, 313).

Henry James' portrayal of Italy in both his fiction and travel writing has been a subject of interest to critics for many years. The letter quoted above – dated March 8th 1870, from Henry James to his brother William – was written after he had travelled to Italy for the first time, giving the reader a sense of the country's importance to James' early career.¹ The metaphor of Italy as 'perpetual capital' works doubly – both in the intellectual sense that it will give James an ongoing income in the form of subject material to write about, and in the financial sense that it will provide a literal income in the form of payments for his writing about the country.

This second, financial, meaning here draws attention to an area of James' depiction of Italy that has been relatively untouched by critics: the role that his interest in becoming a professional writer played in shaping his writing about Italy in his early career. To become a professional writer in the 1870s meant to publish works in the popular literary magazines of the period; and while James' profession as an author has been an area of interest for critics, his professional strategies have not been studied in the context of his early portrayal of Italy. The central aim of this thesis is to connect these two areas of Jamesian scholarship by examining in detail how James engages with contemporary magazine culture in the process of building a readership for his fiction about Italy.

Writing at a time when Italy was an increasingly popular destination for wealthy – often nouveau-riche – Americans and when demand for fiction about Americans in Europe was growing, James builds on the work of the previous generation of writers. Before 1870, authors such as Nathaniel

¹ The quoted passage was written whilst James was plagued with digestive problems and was still in Europe. In writing that he did not want to write about Italy at this stage he seems to mean he intended to wait until he returned to America. Upon his return a few months later he wrote two tales that could be described as 'retrospective sketches': 'Travelling Companions' (Nov. & Dec. 1870), and 'At Isella' (1871).

Hawthorne, Washington Irving and James' contemporary Mark Twain had written hugely popular fiction and non-fiction books engaging with American impressions of Europe. Hawthorne and Irving wrote in an earlier period before longer fiction was regularly serialised in magazines on a large scale, as in the case of Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* (1860) and Irving's *Sketchbook* (1819).² In contrast, James' friend Charles Eliot Norton wrote in the preface to his *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* that '[a] portion of the following notes appeared in "The Crayon" during the year 1856. The larger part of this volume, however, is now published for the first time'.³ Full length novels were generally first published in book form,⁴ with the exception of shorter fiction, which writers predominantly published in periodicals first, as in the case of Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* (1851).⁵

By the late 1860s however, after the turmoil of the Civil War, the landscape of American publishing had changed significantly, mostly due to the emergence of popular literary magazines. As Michael Lund summarises, '[i]n the 1870s, much American literature was read first in what have been called the "quality" periodicals: *Putnam's Magazine*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Century*, *Scribner's Magazine*, *Lippincott's*, *Galaxy*, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, and others', and as Lund notes, the majority of these were already running in the 1860s.⁶ In contrast to the works of Hawthorne and Irving, much of Twain's *Innocents Abroad* (1869) was published in the *Daily Alta California* – a San Francisco

² Irving's *Sketchbook* was published serially in seven paperbound numbers before appearing in book form; the book's English edition contained two additional sketches that had appeared in *Analectic Magazine*. Washington Irving, *History, Tales and Sketches: Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent., Salmagundi, A History of New York, and The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.*, ed. by James W. Tuttleton (New York: Library of America, 1983), 1106.

³ Charles Eliot Norton, *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* (Boston: Houghton & Co, 1860), v. *The Crayon* (1855-1861) was 'the best art journal of the period. It was founded and edited by W. J. Stillman and John Durand'. Frank Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Vol. 2 1850-1865* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1957), 193, hereafter Mott2.

⁴ See: Michael Davitt Bell, 'The Conditions of Literary Vocation: Beginnings of Professionalism', in *The Cambridge History of American Literature Vol. 2: Prose Writing 1820-1865*, ed. by Sacvan Bercovitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 11-73, 13-17.

⁵ Hawthorne writes in the preface to the collection that '[t]hese stories were published in Magazines and Annuals, extending over a period of ten or twelve years, and comprising the whole of the writer's young manhood, without making (so far as he has ever been aware) the slightest impression on the Public.' The preface's discussion of Hawthorne's lack of literary fame at this time suggests he was not concerned with pursuing fame, but 'was merely writing to his known or unknown friends'; this is in sharp contrast to James' own pursuit of a successful literary career. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Twice-told Tales* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1974), 3 & 5.

⁶ Michael Lund, 'Henry James's Two-Part Magazine Stories and "Daisy Miller"', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 19, Issue 2 (1998), 126-138, 127.

mid-1870s.

From its founding by Moses Dresser Phillips and Francis H. Underwood in 1857, the *Atlantic Monthly*, based in Boston, 'enjoyed a perpetual state of literary grace, so that for a large section of the American public, whatever [it] printed was literature' (Mott2, 494). Goodman writes that '[f]ully aware of the magazine's status, American writers believed it difficult to make a reputation except by publishing there' (Goodman, x). James' work in the magazine during the period covered by this thesis strongly concentrated on writing about Europe, with Italy playing a key role. On January 9th 1874, he wrote to Howells, editor at the time, that 'if I could live [in Rome] for two or three years, I should finally, by my doings – my thinkings & feelings & scribblings – quadruple the circulation of the Atlantic' (CL1872-76:2, 102). The title of the magazine itself implies the magazine's preoccupation with transatlantic relations, making it an ideal home for James' writing about European culture. Howells himself encouraged James throughout his early career, writing in a 1907 retrospective article on his editorship that in the 1860s, James was 'writing also for other magazines; after that I did my best to keep him for the *Atlantic*'.⁹ Although most of James' fiction and many of his essays between 1870 and 1875 were published in the *Atlantic*, he also wrote fiction for the *Galaxy* and *Scribner's Monthly*, and contributed book reviews, travel sketches, and essays to other magazines such as *The Nation* and the *North American Review*.

The claim in the title of this thesis, that James is 'writing consciously for a small audience', comes from a review of James' first book, *A Passionate Pilgrim & Other Tales* (1875); the reviewer from *Scribner's Monthly* is perhaps emphasising the 'small' size of James' audience because the *Atlantic's* readership was smaller than *Scribner's*.¹⁰ Rivalry between magazines for subscribers depended a lot upon the quality and subject matter of their content, and James took full advantage of this, often

⁹ William Dean Howells, 'Recollections of an Atlantic Editorship', in *Criticism and Fiction and Other Essays*, ed. by Clara Marburg Kirk & Rudolf Kirk (New York: New York University Press, 1959), 185-205, 195.

¹⁰ Anon, 'Culture and Progress: "A Passionate Pilgrim"', in *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. 9, Issue 6 (April 1875), 766-767. Frank Mott writes that 'in 1874, [...] 20,000 was the figure given' for the subscription rate of the *Atlantic Monthly* (Mott2, 505). Of *Scribner's Monthly's* 1870 first edition on the other hand, '40,000 copies were printed, and there were never any fewer [...] and by 1880 the circulation had passed well beyond the 100,000 mark'. Frank Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Vol. 3 1865-1885* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1938), 467.

writing material with each magazine's specific readership in mind, in the hope that his fiction would resonate with that audience, and ensure future acceptance of his contributions.

A fascinating aspect of James' fiction of this period is his apparently conscious selection of cultural references and allusions familiar to his American readership to help colour the plots and characterisation of his tales. Throughout the thesis, by "culture" I mean in particular "high culture", i.e. the visual arts, such as painting and sculpture, and literature, such as fiction, poetry, and essays. The main focus of this thesis is the way James uses culture in his Italian fiction to draw comparisons between the ideas in his fiction and the morals and ideas encapsulated in the works of art and literature he refers or alludes to, and furthermore, how he uses this to build a relationship with his readers as a writer of fiction about 'American adventures in Europe', as he characterised his first collection of short stories in a letter to his father on March 24th 1873 (*CL1872-76:1*, 243). This thesis centres on the period in which James established himself as a professional writer, publishing many short stories and pieces of travel writing in various magazines, culminating in the serialisation of his first full-length novel, *Roderick Hudson*, in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1875.¹¹ From his first trip to Europe between 1869-70 and 1875, the year in which he published three books – his first collection of short stories, his first book of travel writing, and *Roderick Hudson* – he consistently engaged with Europe and its culture, establishing himself as one of the foremost American writers about the social and cultural differences between the New and Old Worlds.

Throughout this early stage in his career – although he also wrote prolifically about English and French culture – James often wrote about Italy: a high proportion of his contributions to magazines, both fictional and non-fictional, is set there. In his first three books, much of the material he had accumulated was dedicated to the country: two of the six tales in *A Passionate Pilgrim and Other Tales* are Italian stories,¹² Italy features in twelve of the twenty-five travel sketches in *Transatlantic*

¹¹ *Watch and Ward* was actually James' first novel, but he never published it in book form, and he describes *Roderick Hudson* as his first novel in its preface.

¹² *A Passionate Pilgrim and Other Tales* contains 'The Last of the Valerii', and 'The Madonna of the Future', both set in Italy, 'A Passionate Pilgrim', set in England, 'Eugene Pickering', set in Germany, 'Madame de Mauves', set in France, and 'The Romance of Certain Old Clothes', set in New England. Henry James, *A Passionate Pilgrim and Other Tales* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co, 1875), 3.

Sketches,¹³ and *Roderick Hudson* is predominantly set there. In focusing on how he presents Italy, except where James makes allusions to other cultural works within his Italian fiction, this thesis is thus investigating the largest single subject James chooses as the basis of his initial appeal to American readers.¹⁴

For many Americans in the nineteenth century, Italy was associated with aestheticism. Whilst sculptors such as Hiram Powers and William Wetmore Story borrowed from classical Roman sculptures in their work,¹⁵ painters such as Thomas Cole looked to the Italian landscape for inspiration. Cole's series of paintings, *The Course of Empire*, depicted the fall of the Roman Empire partly in order to provide a warning for America to not follow suit; the first painting in the series is of an American landscape (figs. 2-4).¹⁶ As will be seen throughout this thesis, magazines continued this preoccupation with Italian aesthetic culture, most articles about the country being devoted to discussions of Italian art. James' sense of the country was no different. Despite visiting Italy at the time of its Unification, James devotes all his attention to aesthetics and the social experiences of his fellow tourists – in contrast to Howells, who discusses the politics of the country (see p. 62). Whilst other countries such as France and England provided him with the literary material he would often refer to in his tales, Italy was a land where aesthetics and visual culture reigned supreme.

This thesis concentrates solely on James' fiction set in Italy up to and including *Roderick Hudson*, of which there are five short stories, and the novel itself. I will focus on the following tales: 'Travelling Companions' (1870), 'At Isella' (1871), 'The Madonna of the Future' (1873), 'The Last of the

¹³ *Transatlantic Sketches* contains twelve sketches about Italy, four about England, two about Germany, and one each on Paris, Holland, and Belgium. Henry James, *Transatlantic Sketches* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co, 1875), v-vi.

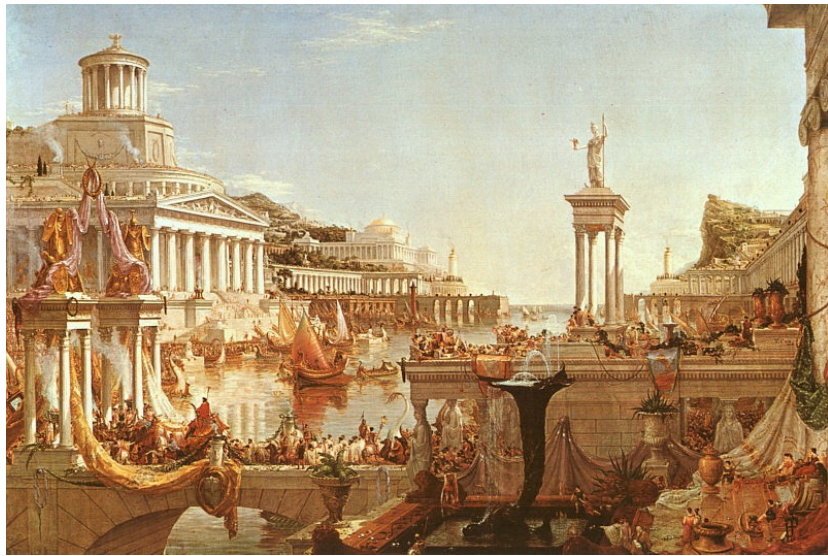
¹⁴ The relationship between James and French culture is another key element of his writing from this period. However this has been given slightly more critical attention recently than James' Italian works; both Peter Brooks and Angus Wrenn have written studies of James's relationship with France in the past few years. Peter Brooks, *Henry James Goes to Paris* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press 2007; Angus Wrenn, *Henry James and the Second Empire* (London: Legenda, 2009).

¹⁵ John S. Crawford, 'The Classical Tradition in American Sculpture: Structure and Surface', in *American Art Journal*, Vol. 11, Issue 3 (July 1979), 38-52.

¹⁶ American political landmarks such as the Capitol building made use of references to Classical architecture, suggestive of the influence the Greek and Roman empires had on American politics as the United States grew.



(fig. 2) Thomas Cole, *The Course of Empire: The Savage State* (1834), New York Historical Society.



(fig. 3) Thomas Cole, *The Course of Empire: The Consummation of Empire* (1834), New York Historical Society.



(fig. 4) Thomas Cole, *The Course of Empire: Desolation* (1836), New York Historical Society.

Valerii' (1874), and 'Adina' (1874); and conclude with a discussion of *Roderick Hudson*. To begin with, I want to explore criticism in the three key areas that the thesis deals with: James and Italy; Culture; and the world of publishing, before describing the contribution to these fields that this thesis sets out to make.

Critical Overview

Linda Simon's *The Critical Reception of Henry James* surveys the vast range of critical studies on James, spanning from contemporary reviews of James to modern treatments of James and sexuality, via Leon Edel's five-volume biography, and the creation of *The Henry James Review* in 1979. Her goal is 'trac[ing] the focus of critical attention, illuminat[ing] each generation's desires, standards, anxieties and expectations'.¹⁷ In doing so, she reveals the multiplicity of different interpretations of single tales, and of James's oeuvre as a whole. More recently, in his preface to *Henry James in Context*, David McWhirter writes that '[l]ong misread as a novelist conspicuously lacking in historical consciousness, James has often been viewed – sometimes attacked – as detached from, and uninterested in, the social, political, and material realities of his time'.¹⁸ This view of James as writing from an ivory tower has been corrected in recent criticism, as McWhirter's collection of essays by contemporary academics demonstrates. Covering illuminating topics as diverse as 'Aestheticism', 'Law', 'Museums and Exhibitions', 'Time', and 'Work', the collection shows a more recent movement towards considering James in the context of his contemporary world.¹⁹

These two recent books highlight the varied and complex ways in which James can be read and demonstrate how rich a field Jamesian scholarship is. It is not possible – nor, fortunately, necessary – to explore the whole ground covered by critics here; instead I want to draw attention to criticism that focuses on the three key areas of the thesis: James and Italy, James and culture, and James and

¹⁷ Linda Simon, *The Critical Reception of Henry James: Creating a Master* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2007), 8.

¹⁸ David McWhirter, 'Preface', in *Henry James in Context*, ed. by David McWhirter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), xix-xxi, xix.

¹⁹ These articles are by Michèle Mendelssohn (*HJC*, 93-104), Stuart Culver (*HJC*, 180-191), Tamara Follini (*HJC*, 234-245), Deidre Lynch (*HJC*, 332-342), and Rory Drummond (*HJC*, 389-399).

publishing. I will summarise here key writings in these areas to mark out major areas for discussion, but I will also deal with more critics in the course of the thesis. I have also consulted a number of texts that are not cited directly, but can be found in the bibliography.

In 1959, Robert L. Gale wrote the first piece of criticism to focus solely on James and Italy, 'Henry James and Italy', in *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. In the article, Gale concentrates on James' affinity for the cities of Rome, Florence, and Venice, and identifies some of the Italian artists he wrote about in his letters and fiction, such as Titian, Veronese, Michaelangelo, and Raphael. But as might be expected with a thirteen-page article tackling such a large topic, Gale paints his portrait of James' relationship with Italy – 'from his first almost drunken initiation into Italian beauty, both natural and man-made, to the very end of his days' – with very broad brushstrokes.²⁰ As an early example of writing about James and Italy it provides a lot of what would have been new material on the subject, exploring the relationship between James' personal experience of the country expressed in his letters home and how he translates this into his fiction and travel writing.

The relationship between James and Italy has been the subject of two books – Carl Maves' *Sensuous Pessimism*, and a collection of essays edited by James W. Tuttleton and Agostino Lombardo entitled *The Sweetest Impression of Life: The James Family and Italy*. Maves' book ranges across James' entire career, and covers a large range of James' writing dealing with Italy, from letters to travel writing and his fiction. In attempting to show 'the precise nature of James's response to Italy' – his approach 'is not exhaustive and merely descriptive but selective and interpretive' – Maves' study offers some interesting interpretations of James' fiction, but these are brief, and his discussions rarely have space to investigate satisfactorily the relationship between Italian culture and the plots of James' tales.²¹ For example, when examining 'Travelling Companions', he briefly discusses James' use of Tintoretto's *Crucifixion*, but simply compares the painting to another Tintoretto as examples of 'a balance between the moral and the pleasurable' (Maves, 14). However, as I will discuss later,

²⁰ Robert L. Gale, 'Henry James and Italy', in *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 14, Issue 2 (Sept. 1959), 157-170, 157.

²¹ Carl Maves, *Sensuous Pessimism: Italy in the Work of Henry James* (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1973), 6, hereafter Maves.

with further consideration the painting can be seen to play a key role in demonstrating the differences between the two lovers in the tale.

The Sweetest Impression of Life is more recent, and contains a number of illuminating essays about James' relationship with Italy. However, as with Maves' book, many of the essays talk about James and Italy in general; there is a notable lack of essays that closely examine the fiction, they are mainly thematic, and deal with subjects such as 'Italy and Henry James's International Theme' and 'Italy and the Artist in Henry James'. Sergio Perosa's essay on the International Theme provides an interesting theoretical framework for the contrast between American and European attitudes to manners and morality: '[i]f you imagine a scissorlike movement, Europe is up in manners but low in morals, whereas gauche and awkward America, so innocent of the world, is innocent in two ways – of social graces but also of corruption, of sophistication but also of deviousness: if she is down in manners, she is up in morals.'²² Similarly Agostino Lombardo identifies the relationship between Italian culture and James' plots, writing of a long list of examples of Italian culture James uses in his fiction that 'all these cities, palaces, churches, works of art, and ruins have specific narrative functions, symbolic as they are of moral situations.'²³ These are particularly important points, but these suggestive essays leave space for others to try to examine exactly what the relationship between culture, morals, and manners is in specific works of fiction.

A number of journal articles also consider James' general relationship with Italy, and others deal with James and Italy in specific tales pertinent to this thesis. The former I will briefly consider now, whilst I will refer to the latter articles in the relevant chapters. In 1964, Umberto Mariani wrote an article entitled 'The Italian Experience of Henry James', which attacked James' portrayal of Italians in both his fiction and travel writing. He writes that James:

was only able to see things [in Italy] from the outside. The difference between his grasp of English and French life and his grasp of the Italian is clearly shown by his early

²² Sergio Perosa, 'Italy in Henry James's International Theme', in *The Sweetest Impression of Life: The James Family and Italy*, ed. by James W. Tuttleton & Agostino Lombardo (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 49-65, 50.

²³ Agostino Lombardo, 'Italy and the Artist in Henry James', in *The Sweetest Impression of Life: The James Family and Italy*, ed. by James W. Tuttleton & Agostino Lombardo (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 228-39, 233.

travel essays. The Italian group of the *Transatlantic Sketches* contains singularly little human observation, amidst a waste of commonplace and uncritical generalizations; his style is often predictable, at times pseudo-poetic, or rather lushly hyperbolic.²⁴

Mariani's native Italian heritage seems to be his foundation for this attack; he seems to equate James' aesthetically informed approach to Italy with a misunderstanding of Italians, and he is not alone.

More recently, Cristina Giorcelli has made a similar complaint, to the extent of essentially accusing James of racism. Her article approaches James' portrayal of Italians, specifically Romans, from a post-colonial perspective, emphasising the way James draws on African and Oriental culture in some of his imagery. In doing so, she tends to see negative portraits of Italians at every turn. To her, Count Valerio from 'The Last of the Valerii' is 'passive and feminized', Angelo Beati from 'Adina' is 'up to furtive tricks and devious dealings' and she likens James' noting of Italians' white teeth to the portrayal of 'blacks in minstrel shows'.²⁵ Both her and Mariani's complaints raise interesting questions about James' representation of Mediterraneans; their positions as Italian critics mean they are able to offer a perspective that contrasts with that of the cultural milieu James was writing in, which is both enlightening and limiting.²⁶

Giorcelli seems intent on portraying James as racist, which he may well appear from this perspective, but I would argue the interest lies in asking *why* he depicts Italians as he does. Giorcelli alludes to this when she compares his portrayal of Italians to the way they are depicted pictorially by artists such as Bartolomeo Pinelli, or in literature by De Staël, Stendhal, Byron, and Taine, although to her these portrayals are 'stereotypes', and James is 'pandering to a conventional

²⁴ Umberto Mariani, 'The Italian Experience of Henry James', in *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 19, Issue 3 (Dec. 1964), 237-254, 237-8.

²⁵ Cristina Giorcelli, 'Beguiling City, Beguiling Landscape, Bewildering People', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 33, Issue 3 (2012), 216-232, 219-20, hereafter Giorcelli. As I hope to demonstrate in later chapters, particularly in the case of James' portrayal of Angelo, Giorcelli is wrong in perceiving these as in any sense straightforwardly negative.

²⁶ It is important to stress that Mariani and Giorcelli are unusual in this approach; numerous other Italian critics have made more balanced contributions to Jamesian criticism. The aforementioned Sergio Perosa and Agostino Lombardo come to mind, along with other contemporary critics such as Donatella Izzo, Simone Francescato, and Rosella Mamoli Zorzi.

audience who expects nothing better from this Mediterranean country' (Giorcelli, 220-1). As I will explore in the first chapter, the pictorial sense in which James portrays Italians has indeed much to do with the fact that most nineteenth-century Americans in the United States saw Italian culture as it was depicted in art and reproduced as copies, photographs, or prints, and James builds on, and often challenges, this approach in his writing. The connection between the way Americans viewed Italy and how this informs James' presentation of it to his magazine readership seems a key aspect of this discussion that Mariani and Giorcelli neglect.

I now want to consider criticism that deals with the two main areas that affect James' presentation of Italy: James and culture, and James' relationship with the publishing world. As I hope will become clear, these two subjects have generally been treated as quite separate entities, although this is starting to change. 1986 saw the publication of two major contributions to Jamesian criticism: Michael Anesko's *"Friction with the Market": Henry James and the Profession of Authorship*, and Adeline Tintner's *The Museum World of Henry James*. These studies both draw attention to two key aspects of James' world: his attitude towards his profession as an author, and the way in which he engages with museum culture.

Anesko's book spans the entirety of James' career, taking into account not only James' own relationships with his publishers, but also how James portrays publishing in his novels. Making use of a wealth of archival material, Anesko guides the reader through James' relationship with the business of writing, the title of his study coming from a letter James wrote to the Danish sculptor Hendrik Anderson on August 6th 1905, where he encouraged the artist to '[m]ake the pot boil, at any price, as the only real basis for freedom and sanity'.²⁷ The idea that James himself used this approach of writing "pot-boilers" to provide both the financial income and literary reputation to allow him to write material he considered more artistically important is a key aspect of Anesko's discussion, which convincingly demonstrates that 'James was continually engaged in an active, if ambivalent, dialogue with "the world," and that his finished works were shaped not merely by the imagination alone, but by a constant and lively "friction with the market"' (Anesko, vii). Anesko

²⁷ Michael Anesko, *"Friction with the Market": Henry James and the Profession of Authorship* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 5, hereafter Anesko.

focuses largely on James' novels as opposed to his short stories, and devotes much of the book to James' later works rather than his early career.

Similarly, Adeline Tintner's strength as an art historian and close friend of Leon Edel – James' principal biographer – afforded her a unique perspective on James' relationship with art. Her book sets out to discuss the works of art he makes use of in his texts: 'to exhibit them as well as to bring up from the storage rooms those paintings and works of art which James's readers were familiar with but which, alas, have since been relegated to the basement'.²⁸ Grouped by art movement, the book jumps about James' career, but provides a lot of important contextual material; yet, like Anesko's book, Tintner's study spans the whole of James' oeuvre, thus making it harder for her to explore many of her illuminating discoveries in great depth; Tintner merely identifies contemporarily popular paintings, rather than considering *how* they were perceived at the time.

Tintner has been the dominant critic in this field of James and culture. Linda Simon notes that she 'stands as one of the most prolific writers on Henry James, contributing more than two hundred publications from 1963 until her death in 2003. She revelled in research and annotation, such as documenting works of art, books, literary allusions, and references to other authors in James's work' (Simon, 76). Her greatest legacy is her collection of books on James in various cultural contexts: the aforementioned *Museum World of Henry James*, *Henry James and the Lust of the Eyes: Thirteen Artists in His Work*, *The Book World of Henry James*, *The Pop World of Henry James*, and *The Cosmopolitan World of Henry James*. Whilst the former three focus mainly on James and high culture, the latter two engage with James' work in the context of more popular culture, such as fairy tales and various popular works of American and English fiction in the case of *Pop World*, which touches on aspects of magazine culture. *The Cosmopolitan World of Henry James* concentrates on the influence of popular European culture, including French theatre and literature, on James' works.²⁹

²⁸ Adeline Tintner, *The Museum World of Henry James* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), xxv-xxvi.

²⁹ I use the term influence throughout the thesis in relation to James and culture in the sense that his work appears to have been shaped in part by the work of art, fiction, or criticism in question.

Viola Winner's *Henry James and the Visual Arts* performs a similar role; exploring the way James engages with the art world not only through allusions to works of art and artists, but through engagement with art critics too. For example, she devotes a large portion of a chapter on aesthetic sources to the impact of critics such as John Ruskin and Hippolyte Taine on James' conception of art. Other critics have since engaged with the subject of James and art critics, particularly in relation to the way it affects his writing. The recent *Tracing Henry James*, for example, contains a section devoted to 'James and Criticism', including essays by Tamara Follini on James and Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, and Matthew Peters on Taine's influence on James' early literary criticism.³⁰ Follini's introduction to *Italian Hours* also helpfully considers James and various critics throughout his career, especially the influence of Ruskin, Taine, and Gautier on his first voyage to Italy.³¹

In 1930, Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley published *The Early Development of Henry James*, a study that combined biographical detail of James' early life and critical engagement with his writings of the period. Her impressive study spans from James' childhood to the publication of *Portrait of a Lady* in 1881, detailing the numerous influences on James, both literary and artistic. Kelley's emphasis is very much on James' debt to French writers such as Balzac, Gautier, and George Sand – which is indeed important, as will be seen in a number of the works studied in this thesis, but in her account this emphasis sometimes overshadows the other elements, such as the portrayal of art in the tales. That a study as detailed as this cannot be exhaustive demonstrates just how complex a writer James is, and the numerous contexts in which his tales can be fruitfully read. Kelley also did much work in identifying which magazines had published James' works; this was original research at the time.

A number of other books have focused on James' relationship with his readership, including Marcia Jacobson's *Henry James and the Mass Market*, and more recently, Amy Tucker's *The Illustration of the Master*. Jacobson's study examines some of James' later works in the context of the 'mass market',

³⁰ See Tamara Follini 'James, Ruskin, and *The Stones of Venice*', in *Tracing Henry James*, ed. by Melanie Ross & Greg W. Zacharias (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 355-373, and Matthew Peters, 'Hippolyte Taine and Henry James's Early Literary Criticism', in *Tracing Henry James*, ed. by Melanie Ross & Greg W. Zacharias (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 389-401.

³¹ Henry James, *Italian Hours*, intro. by Tamara Follini (London: Century Classics, 1986), vii-xix, xiii-xiv.

i.e. the ‘new reading public [that] accompanied the increased availability of books’ in the 1880s and 90s.³² Writing before Anesko’s *Friction with the Market*, Jacobson chooses to look at novels where James consciously shifts away from the international theme, such as *The Bostonians*, *The Tragic Muse*, and *What Maisie Knew*. Her argument that these novels engage with readers on a wider scale as a result of changes in the publishing world is of great interest. For example, she discusses *The Bostonians* in the wider context of other novels about the “Woman Question” being serialised in similar magazines, and the portrayal of post-Civil War America in magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Century* (the renamed *Scribner’s Monthly*) – demonstrating how useful this approach is in interpreting James’ work in terms of its relation to his audience.

Similarly, Tucker’s more recent study, *The Illustration of the Master*, looks at James’ writings in their original magazine context, particularly the illustrated magazines such as *Scribner’s* and *Harper’s Monthly*, so as to try to gain an ‘impression of the way a given piece of writing fits into the larger scheme of its original presentation’.³³ Using this contextual material, Tucker manages to illuminate one important aspect of how James’ work was shaped by the magazines in which he wrote, focusing largely on relatively neglected fiction from the 1890s, but adopting an approach that shows how useful this context of illustrated print culture is. This is particularly clear in her reading of James’ ‘The Beldonald Holbein’, where she examines both James’ portrayal of Holbein throughout his career, and magazines’ illustrated depictions of Holbein’s work – a profitable approach, which by focusing an entire chapter on a single tale, explores these issues in rewarding depth.

The interest in James’ relationship with magazine culture has continued throughout the last few decades. Articles on James and publishing include Ellery Sedgwick’s ‘Henry James and the *Atlantic Monthly*’, and Michael Lund’s aforementioned ‘Henry James’s Two-Part Magazine Stories and “Daisy Miller”’. Lund’s attention to the structure of James’ early tales told in two parts, including ‘Travelling Companions’ and ‘Adina’, is illuminating in terms of explaining how James constructed the narrative of his tales in a way that took advantage of their being split in half for magazine

³² Marcia Jacobson, *Henry James and the Mass Market* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1983), 4.

³³ Amy Tucker, *The Illustration of the Master: Henry James and the Magazine Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), xvi.

readers. Similarly, Sedgwick's article traces the development of James' relationship with the *Atlantic Monthly's* editors from the very beginning of his career, where he notes that William Dean Howells was 'perceptive [...] about James' problems with developing an audience among readers habituated to the conventional expectations created by the fiction of writers like Mrs. Southworth and Josiah Holland [later editor of *Scribner's Monthly*].³⁴ She notes that '[b]y the mid-seventies, James was adept at producing "sunspots" and "small pot-boilers" [...]. By the middle of Howells' editorship [1875], James had become practiced at playing the magazine market' (Sedgwick, 315). Yet despite offering an illuminating overview of James' practice of balancing his passion with pragmatism about the realities of life as an author, the article's focus remains on biographical details, leaving space for other critics to consider how this practice affects the narrative of his writings.

Andrew Cutting is one such critic. In *Death in Henry James*, Cutting examines *Roderick Hudson* in the context of the *Atlantic Monthly's* depiction of the American Civil War in the period preceding James' serialisation of the novel. This offers an interesting theory that '[r]eferences to the War in the first two instalments of *Roderick Hudson* might sensitise contemporary readers by stimulating memories, or be read more conventionally as mere historic colour.'³⁵ This consideration of how James' contemporary readers may have interpreted his works based on what was presented elsewhere in the same magazines as the fiction is an interesting and potentially very rewarding line of research, which can be applied to James' depiction of Italy in this period. It stimulates examination of how James portrays the experience of the American in Europe to his Stateside audience, whose experience of Italy may well have been limited to the printed page or reproduced image.³⁶

³⁴ Ellery Sedgwick, 'Henry James and the "Atlantic Monthly": Editorial Perspectives on James' "Friction with the Market"', in *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 45 (1992), 311-332, 314, hereafter Sedgwick.

³⁵ Andrew Cutting, *Death in Henry James* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 44.

³⁶ With regard to James's relationship with France, there have been a number of recent books that take into account the relationship between James and magazine culture; Angus Wrenn's *Henry James and the Second Empire* provides an original insight into how James' engagement with French writers in the *Revue des deux Mondes* influenced his writing (Wrenn, 16-25). Similarly, Michael Gorra's recent *Portrait of a Novel* sheds a similar light on the circumstances surrounding the publication of *The Portrait of a Lady*. Michael Gorra, *Portrait of a Novel: Henry James and the Making of an American Masterpiece* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2012), 208-221.

Thesis Overview

As can be seen from this brief overview of criticism, a large proportion of existing criticism, broadly speaking, is divided between those who explore James from a strongly cultural perspective, and those who examine his professional relationship with his publishers and magazine readership. These two areas of Jamesian criticism have rarely been looked at in conjunction in any great detail, with a few exceptions, already mentioned. With regard to James' relationship with Italy, the attention has been largely biographical; there hasn't been any detailed examination of how he presents Italy to his American audience, nor of how his readers might have read or interpreted these tales. Research has also tended to focus on the more prominent fiction such as *Daisy Miller* (1878), *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), *The Aspern Papers* (1888), and *The Wings of the Dove* (1902). The earlier short stories and *Roderick Hudson*, which certainly contributed to James' approach in these more renowned works, have been relatively untouched by critics.

This thesis seeks to address this absence by looking at how James uses Italian culture in his early fiction to help build up a readership through using direct references or recognisable allusions to familiar works of art, fiction, and criticism. Though examining James' writing practices in different magazines, I will emphasise how he does this in particular for the *Atlantic Monthly*. As he develops his techniques as a writer, he begins to allude to his own writing in his fiction, building on his growing reputation as a writer about Italian culture in both his fiction and travel writing. James is certainly writing with a cultured audience in mind, and seems to expect a certain level of education from them; he either directly refers to cultural works, apparently expecting his readers to be familiar with whatever work of art or literature he refers to, or makes more indirect allusions that require slightly more work on the part of the reader to appreciate.³⁷ This explains why his fiction

³⁷ For an illuminating discussion of the distinction between references and allusions, see: Angus Wrenn, 'Some Allusions in the Early Stories', in *Henry James's Europe: Heritage and Transfer*, ed. by Dennis Tredy, Annick Duperray, & Adrian Harding (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2011), 157-167.

was critically successful, but not hugely popular; the first collections of his tales were only printed in relatively small runs of 1,500 copies (Anesko, 32).

By taking a historically conscious approach similar to that found in McWhirter's essay collection, and looking at James' tales in the context of the magazines he was writing for, I hope to demonstrate how James not only fills a niche in the magazine market for fiction about Americans in Italy, but also writes in a way that actively engages with contemporary attitudes to the various works of art and fiction that he writes about. By engaging with existing magazine writing about Italy, he was able to build a reputation for himself as a writer of fiction about culture that was familiar to his readers, thus allowing himself more freedom as a writer in his treatment of Italy in the long run. As will be seen in my exploration of the tales in this thesis, James' writing develops from heavily relying on references to culture familiar to his readers, to establishing what James himself felt to be important about Italian culture.

In his 1907 preface to the New York Edition of *Roderick Hudson*, James characterised the relationship between the novel and his earlier tales thus:

"Roderick Hudson" was my first attempt at a novel, a long fiction with a "complicated" subject, and I recall again the quite uplifted sense with which my idea, such as it was, permitted me at last to put quite out to sea. I had but hugged the shore on sundry previous small occasions; bumping about, to acquire skill, in the shallow waters and sandy coves of the "short story" and master as yet of no vessel constructed to carry a sail. The subject of "Roderick" figured to me vividly this employment of canvas, and I have not forgotten, even after long years, how the blue southern sea seemed to spread immediately before me and the breath of the spice-islands to be already in the breeze.³⁸

This passage is fundamental to my approach to James' early tales about Italy. By viewing them as small experiments to 'acquire skill', I hope to demonstrate how he used them to build a rapport with

³⁸ Henry James, 'Preface to *Roderick Hudson*', in *Literary Criticism: French Writers, Other European Writers, The Prefaces to the New York Edition* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 1039-1052, 1040.

his readership, and develop an approach to writing about Italian culture that gave him the authority on the subject to write his first novel, *Roderick Hudson*.

This approach to using Italian culture in fiction derives from the work of writers such as Hawthorne. Whilst Hawthorne provides his readers with a lot of cultural material in *The Marble Faun*, and a lot of the novel deals with moral issues, the function of the two is not as closely linked as in James' work. Hawthorne himself wrote in his preface to the novel that he 'was somewhat surprised to see the extent to which he had introduced descriptions of various Italian objects, antique, pictorial, and statuesque.'³⁹ Yet, in the next sentence, he writes that he 'could not find it in [his] heart to cancel them', suggesting that they are not necessary to the plot. However, these descriptive passages were partly what led to the novel's success; Susan Manning, in her introduction to the novel, describes how 'the product of Hawthorne's encounter with Rome became a favoured guidebook with British and American tourists in the Eternal City' (*MF*, xxxiv). James seems to take the demand for these descriptive passages about art and culture, and advances the use of them in his fiction by connecting them with moral questions about the characters in his tales.

As will be seen in the first chapter, the use of a given cultural reference has implications within the tale; the difference between two characters' opinions of a painting can also refer to their differing points of view elsewhere in the tale. This is a development of Perosa's distinction between morals and manners: Americans might be "low" – i.e. undeveloped – in culture of their own creation as well as manners, but their high morals affect their perception of the European literature and Italian art they encounter. Their associations of moral ideas in art with other characters they interact with are a vital way in which they perceive them and deduce that person's morality and character. Again, the way culture was presented in magazines plays a key role in understanding the moral interpretations of paintings by James' readers.

Each chapter briefly introduces the tale in question, including contextual details that colour the circumstances under which the tale was written then it explores the context in which the fiction

³⁹ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ed. by Susan Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4, hereafter *MF*.

first appeared, giving a brief account of what is known about its publication, then exploring other material the magazine published that James seems to be drawing on in the fiction. The majority of each chapter will then be devoted to exploring the work in light of this context, in an attempt to examine how a contemporary audience might have read his allusions and references.⁴⁰

The first chapter introduces the theme of 'Observation and Imagination' in the thesis. I first examine some of the ways in which art depicting Italy was available in the States, then I discuss the literary works tourists used to prepare for their journey to Italy, such as *Murray's Handbooks*, art criticism by writers such as John Ruskin and Hippolyte Taine, and the novels of Stendhal and George Sand. I also briefly examine coverage of women's rights debates at the time James was writing, to give background to the way he portrays moral issues surrounding gender in his fiction.

After establishing that James directs 'Travelling Companions' at a fairly well-read and travelled audience in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Chapter Two focuses on the contrasts between the ways the two lovers Mr. Brooke and Miss Evans engage with culture and people in Italy. Mr. Brooke approaches Italy in a visually orientated manner, inspired by Ruskin; in contrast, Miss Evans perceives Italy from a more literary, narrative-driven perspective. The contrast between these two approaches to Italian culture and ways of reading the country creates the drama of the story, and James makes this distinction clear to his readers through recognisable references to art and literature.

Chapter Three explores 'At Isella' in light of James' sense of his audience, and the tension between James writing for his friends the Nortons and for a specific magazine audience. Through examining James' use of allusions and references in the context of the *Galaxy's* rather different treatment of Italian culture, I hope to draw attention to how he engages with a readership other than that of the *Atlantic Monthly*. However, James also sent the tale to Grace Norton, a close friend who knew Italy

⁴⁰ At this point I want to briefly acknowledge a number of resources I will be using. The recently printed volumes of James' *Complete Letters*, covering the whole of my period, contain a number of previously unpublished letters. These help to shed new light on both what James felt about Italy, and his thoughts about his career as a writer. Throughout his time in Europe, James communicated with his family on both these topics, so these letters will be referred to throughout the thesis. The London Library and Cornell University Library's 'Making of America' website have provided both physical and digital archives of a large number of the magazines that James published material in. These have proved an invaluable tool in understanding the milieu James was writing within, and tracking down specific references to works of culture.

and Italian culture well, and I also examine the difference between the public and private allusions and references that he makes in the tale.

The emphasis in Chapter Four is on the contrast between American art patronage and historical forms of patronage in 'The Madonna of the Future'. I look at this in the context of contemporary ideas about the role and future of American art as portrayed in the *Atlantic Monthly*, to which James was by now a regular contributor.

Similarly, Chapter Five explores 'The Last of the Valerii' and 'Adina' in the context of James' growing sense of his audience. The chapter explores how throughout the tales, which were published in rival magazines – the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Scribner's Monthly* – James makes allusions to his own travel writing about Rome, and how this enhances the tale for readers who were familiar with these works.

James' first full-length novel, *Roderick Hudson*, is explored in Chapter Six in the context of his previous writings; he had published his first collections of short stories and travel sketches at the start of that year, as serialisation of the novel began. The focus of the chapter is how James not only portrays the central four characters of the novel in ways that build on techniques used in the tales discussed in previous chapters, but also alludes to situations and motifs from these tales and his travel sketches. I explore how James uses these allusions to play with his reader's expectations of the narrative. Additionally, the section exploring the publication context also examines how Howells placed a number of poems and articles that touched on similar subject matter next to the instalments of the novel, and how this enhances certain aspects of the narrative. To conclude, I briefly summarise how the thesis' approach might be applied to other areas of James' oeuvre. I have also included an appendix with brief biographies of key magazine contributors.

Chapter One. The View from America: Imagination and Observation on the Grand Tour

From my earliest manhood [...] I had dreamed of this Italian pilgrimage, and, after much waiting and working and planning, I had at last undertaken it in a spirit of fervent devotion. There had been moments [...] when I had fancied myself a clever man; but it now seemed to me that for the first time I really *felt* my intellect. Imagination, panting and exhausted, withdrew from the game; and Observation stepped into her place, trembling and glowing with open-eyed desire.

– Mr Brooke, in ‘Travelling Companions’ (1871) (TC, 175)⁴¹

In February 1869, at the age of twenty-six, James departed on his first solo trip to Europe, with the aim of being able to ‘absorb a good deal of “general culture”’ (CL1855-72:2, 18). James Buzard describes the fiction that arose from his grand tour as ‘profitably appropriating Europe’, translating the experience of his trip – paid for by his parents – into a commercial venture in the form of magazine writing.⁴² In order to achieve this, James translates much of his own experience in Italy into fictional prose. But whilst critics such as Buzard and Maves focus on the biographical aspects of this transaction, they neglect an important aspect: how far James treats Italy with his American readership carefully in mind. In the passage above from ‘Travelling Companions’, James describes Mr. Brooke’s sense of anticipation about Italy, and how this translates into “Observation” upon his arrival, in comparison to the Italy of his imagination. This passage helps give American readers a sense of the experience of being in Italy that is semi-recognisable; they themselves may have never visited Italy, but would at least be able to *imagine* what it is like from either reading about it, or looking at art depicting it. Here James fictionalises his own experience of Italy, but also summarises it in a way that would resonate with his readership.

⁴¹ Mr. Brooke is the narrator of James’ first story of tourists falling in love on the Grand Tour. In the full passage, despite being American, Mr. Brooke discusses this in the context of his youth in Germany, but I have cut these parts from the passage to avoid confusion. James himself spent a portion of his youth in Germany in 1860 (CL1855-72:1, lxxi-ii).

⁴² James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to ‘Culture’ 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 238. See also James’ letter to William James of 30th May 1869, where he writes that ‘I shall hang on to a place till it has yielded me its last drop of life-blood [...] In this way I hope to get a good deal for my money & to make it last a long time’ (CL1855-72:2, 17).

This chapter will explore how James sets up the theme of visual perception as a literary device that he would use in his Italian fiction of the early 1870s. This is not, of course, solely a feature of his Italian fiction; throughout his career, James wrote from the viewpoint of characters who spend their time observing others. Through the eyes of these observers, or 'great watchers' as Tony Tanner describes them, the main plots of the tales unfold.⁴³ This narrative technique of relaying the plot of a story through the perception of a character is one of the most important aspects of James' fictional writings; I am particularly interested in how he uses this strategy to explore the relationship between the way these characters perceive culture and the way they perceive the people around them. Very often in his narratives, the way a character reacts to a certain painting, place, or book has a resonance with the way they perceive someone in relation to it. James' tales set in Italy – a place full of art and culture – give him the ideal setting in which to experiment with this technique of thematic reinforcement.

James' tales of this period treat Italy as a place in which sight plays a fundamental role in the American tourist's experience. In all of them the American tourist's desire for visual culture plays a dominant role in shaping his or her perspectives in Italy; the narrators rely on observation to perceive not only art, but the people they encounter too. As John Carlos Rowe has written, the connection between 'picture and idea' is used to 'provide a central consciousness with a certain reflective distance from the dramatic action'; a 'fundamental weakness in James's characters is their inability to recognize the "idea" in the "picture", the cognitive determinants of a scene.'⁴⁴ Rowe's theory can be taken further by exploring the comparison between image and character that this connection between picture and idea invites. Comparing a person to an artistic icon or even a character in a novel or short story implies some relationship between the ideas associated with the cultural work, often as interpreted by contemporary critics, and James' character's moral worth or attitudes. For example, if one were to liken a woman to an image of the Madonna, this would imply a relationship between the moral behaviour of the two women, suggesting the woman in the tale to be chaste and virtuous like the Virgin Mary. James often plays with this form of comparative

⁴³ Tony Tanner, *Scenes of Nature, Signs of Men: Essays on 19th and 20th Century American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 31.

⁴⁴ John Carlos Rowe, *The Theoretical Dimensions of Henry James* (London: Methuen, 1985), 195.

perception in his tales, and the people who make comparisons between culture and character are often mistaken in the judgments they make based on these connections. Contemporary art critics such as John Ruskin and Hippolyte Taine, amongst others, played a key role in shaping the moral ideas surrounding art, something James builds on in his fiction.⁴⁵

This chapter focuses on James' own first experience of Italy based on his sense of the country prior to the trip, and how this affected his perception of the country in terms of how he approaches writing about Italy to his family across the Atlantic. He makes reference to writers' accounts of the paintings and sculptures he has seen in many of his letters home, comparing what he sees before him with his previous literary impression of it. This serves two purposes; it allows his family, thousands of miles away, to read an account of the art he is seeing, whilst also giving James the opportunity to comment on how the real painting or sculpture compares to the writer's depiction of it. As will be seen, James often uses a similar approach in his fictional writings.

In terms of James and readers of his fiction, this raises two questions. The first is how in mediated forms, Americans were able to see the art he wrote about without having travelled to Italy. The second is where the moral associations attached to the paintings were derived from. This chapter aims to address both of these issues, and will first explore the ways in which Americans were able to view works of art, generally copies of them, before moving on to consider how various books and magazines presented contemporary debates about art that James utilises in his fiction. The arising moral issues surrounding art and literary works will then be briefly explored in the context of the "Woman Question", a moral issue which plays a key role in a number of James' tales.

Images of Europe in America

In James' 1913 autobiography, *A Small Boy and Others*, he writes of remembering how there was in his family's home an 'ample canvas of Mr. Cole, "the American Turner" which covered half a side of

⁴⁵ Especially Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851-53) and Taine's two books on *Italy* (1866).



(fig. 5) Thomas Cole, *View of Florence from San Miniato* (1837), Cleveland Museum of Art.

our front parlour, and in which, [...] I could always lose myself as soon as look.⁴⁶ The painting in question was Thomas Cole's *View of Florence From San Miniato* (fig. 5). The image was painted in 1837, and depicts Florence in a typically American Neo-classical style: the influence of the Baroque landscapes of Poussin and Claude Lorrain is clear. All of the main landmarks of Florence appear: the city is dominated by the Duomo with its Campanile, the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio, and the Ponte Vecchio, whilst the Tuscan hills roll away into the horizon. In the foreground, there is a small tableau of two youths serenading a couple of young girls, whilst to the left, sitting in the shadows of the wall, is an elderly monk. The characters give the scene a sense of the social colour to be found in Italy; on the one side the frivolous, pastoral element, on the other, the spiritual, Catholic aspect.

James describes how he remembers the painting as a precursor to his own experience of Italy many years later, writing that upon encountering the real Florence in his early manhood, he then

felt how long before my attachment had started on its course – that closer vision was no beginning, it only took up the tale; just as it comes to me again today, that the contemplative monk seated on a terrace in the foreground, a constant friend of my childhood, must have been of the convent of San Miniato, which gives me the site from which the painter wrought (*SB&O*, 210).

This description of his early impressions of Italy has much to offer the scholar of James' earlier works. In reflecting on his childhood experiences, the elderly James reveals his early, strongly visual, attachment to Italian culture, and in focusing on the monk, draws attention to the religious, Catholic aspect of Italian life. James' description of the monk as 'a constant friend of his childhood' suggests that the young James would attempt to characterise the monk from this image of him, so as to give him a personality. This way of creating a character based on a superficial impression of someone is a key aspect of James' fiction, and very often his observers use a vague impression of a person to try and create an image of their character.

The older James also talks of a bust of a Bacchante:

⁴⁶ Henry James, *A Small Boy and Others*, ed. by Peter Collister (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 210, hereafter *SB&O*.

a part of the figure, of a lady with her head crowned with vine-leaves and her hair disposed with a laxity that was emulated by the front of her dress, as my younger brother exposed himself to my derision by calling the bit of brocade (simulated by the chisel) that, depending from a single shoulder-strap, so imperfectly covered her (*SB&O*, 210-11).

The bust associates Italy with a particularly coquettish femininity, which perhaps partially explains James' preoccupation with the behaviour of women in Italy, although James is careful to differentiate between the bacchante and nymph. A friend describes the bust as 'very "cold" for a Bacchante', to which James responds '[c]old indeed she might have been [...] but that objection would drop if she might have been called a Nymph, since nymphs were mild and moderate' (*SB&O*, 211). The attention to the terminology here may explain why, as discussed later, in Chapter Three, James describes Italy as being like a nymph in a letter to his mother (see p. 96). Again, the impression of Italy derives from an American view of Italian culture: 'she had come to us straight from an American studio in Rome, and I see my horizon flush again with the first faint dawn of conscious appreciation, or in other words of the critical spirit' (*SB&O*, 211).

However, it was not only American artists whose works depicting Italian culture were to be seen in the parlours and museums of James' early adulthood; there were a number of works of European art available to be seen in a variety of ways.⁴⁷ The Boston Athenaeum, founded in 1807, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and New York Metropolitan Museum – both founded in 1870, the latter opening in 1872, and the former in 1876 – played a key role in giving the American public a taste of European culture with their many original works of art and copies of famous paintings.⁴⁸ Additionally, more readily and cheaply available reproductions of works of art – either prints or

⁴⁷ James also discusses a landscape in the parlour by the French artist Lefèvre, 'a so-called "view in Tuscany"' (*SB&O*, 211).

⁴⁸ Mabel Munson Swan writes that '[a]n act of incorporation for a Museum of Fine Arts had been passed in 1870, and plans were being developed for the new institution. [...] In 1873 and 1874 the Museum of Fine Arts occupied two of the four galleries of the Athenaeum on Beacon Street. In 1876 most of the Athenaeum's collections of paintings and statuary, as well as those belonging to the new institution, were removed to the Museum building in Copley Square'. Mabel Munson Swan, *The Athenaeum Gallery 1827-1873: The Boston Athenaeum as an Early Patron of Art* (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1940), 173. See also: Hina Hirayama, 'The Boston Athenaeum and the Creation of Boston's Museum of Fine Arts', in *The Boston Athenaeum: Bicentennial Essays*, ed. by Richard Wendorf (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 2009), 231-271.

photographs – helped to provide a wider American audience with the opportunity to see Italian culture either in books, or as souvenirs brought home by family and friends who had been to Europe.

Founded with the intention of ‘offering a home for all branches of learning’, the Boston Athenaeum housed a great collection of original and copied works of European art.⁴⁹ As David B. Dearinger writes, ‘whether painted or sculpted, these copies of works of art were intended to fill a void in the cultural and intellectual life of the United States and signalled the Athenaeum’s awareness that there were few sources from which to study art in this country.’⁵⁰ Annual exhibitions of its collections were held from 1827 to 1874. Katherine Wolff discusses the effect of opening of the gallery to the public, writing that ‘the advent of annual exhibitions [...] worked to stimulate artistic production [...] and the shows’ effect on the growth of a viewing public proved at least equally significant’, noting that the exhibitions opened ‘with accompanying fanfare from the popular press.’⁵¹

Periodicals regularly provided coverage of the exhibitions, and consistently commented on the role of these paintings in shaping American perceptions of Italian art. A review of the catalogue of the 1831 exhibition noted a key aspect of Italian landscapes: ‘the most beautiful of composition of American scenery is inferior in interest to an Italian landscape; one is a thing of mere natural beauty, while the other combines a high degree of that with objects of other and more intellectual pleasure.’⁵² Two of the most popular paintings of 1831 and the period that followed were Giovanni Panini’s *A Picture Gallery decorated with Views of Modern Rome* (fig. 6) and *Interior of the Church of*

⁴⁹ Jonathan P. Harding, *The Boston Athenaeum Collection: Pre-Twentieth Century American and European Painting and Sculpture* (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1984), 1.

⁵⁰ David B. Dearinger, ‘Collecting Paintings and Sculpture for the Boston Athenaeum’, in *Acquired Tastes: 200 Years of Collecting for the Boston Athenaeum*, ed. by Stanley Ellis Cushing & David B. Dearinger (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 2006), 33-63, 37 & 40.

⁵¹ Katherine Wolff, *Culture Club: The Curious History of the Boston Athenaeum* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 88.

⁵² Anon, ‘Review of Exhibition of Pictures at the Athenaeum Gallery. Remarks upon the Athenaeum Gallery of Paintings for 1831’, in *The North American Review*, Vol. 33, Issue 73 (Oct. 1831), 506-515, 514.



(fig. 6) Giovanni Paolo Panini, *Picture Gallery with Views of Modern Rome* (1757), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



(fig. 7) Giovanni Paolo Panini, *Interior of St. Peter's in Rome* (1750s), Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

St. Peter (fig. 7), both displayed almost annually at the Athenaeum's exhibitions until 1874.⁵³ The former portrays a collection of landscapes of Italy and the associated cultural and intellectual interest in the country. Meanwhile the painting of *St. Peter's* provides a sense of the immense scale of the church and the strong social role it plays in Italian culture; a theme James was to utilise in his fiction. These images helped to shape Bostonians' perceptions of Italy.

Later, in 1872, when the Boston and New York museums were establishing themselves as cultural centres, an art critic in the *Atlantic Monthly* wrote that:

[t]hese institutions are calculated to organise wealth and taste in the community, and thus, while gathering materials for the artist's study, to engage the popular interest, thereby stimulating such general movements as can alone insure the advancement of painting to a thorough success in this country. The New York Metropolitan Museum has brought together an extremely useful gallery of pictures. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, on the other hand, has recently put on exhibition at the Athenaeum a collection embracing something over five hundred objects of art, the chief strength of which lies in its specimens of the keramic art, and the art of sculpture, including [...] some fine Italian medals of the fifteenth century, as well as a brief series of plaster-casts from reliefs in marble by several Italian sculptors, from Orcagna to Benvenuto Cellini.⁵⁴

This demonstrates how Italian paintings and sculptures were visible to Americans; James builds on this not only in his fiction, but also in his letters home. Writing to Alice James from Rome on November 7th 1869, he notes that '[t]here is at the Vatican, a statue of Demosthenes – you may see a cast of it at the Athenaeum – a fine wise old man with his head bent & his hands dropped, holding a scroll – so perfect & noble & beautiful that it amply satisfies my desire for the ideal' (*CL1855-72:2*, 176, fig. 8). James would go on to refer to the same statue in *Roderick Hudson*; some of his readers would have been able to refer to the cast in the gallery (see p. 248).

⁵³ Robert F. Perkins, Jr. & William J. Gavin III, *The Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index: 1827-1874* (Boston: The Library of the Boston Athenaeum, 1980), 20 & 107, hereafter *BAEI*.

⁵⁴ Anon, 'Art', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 30, Issue 179 (Sept. 1872), 371-74, 372.

In the Athenaeum, the plaster casts of numerous Classical sculptures, including the Venus de Medici, and a bust of the Belvedere Apollo, were accompanied by a number of copies of old master paintings. In February of 1869, the editor of *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Alfred H. Guernsey, wrote an article in defence of copying paintings, arguing that 'a copy of the Madonna di Sisto, of the Foligno, of the Seggiola, which shall really reproduce those pictures, not merely imitate them, that is a work well worth doing, and not difficult to many a thoughtful and skillful painter, who can as truly reproduce Raphael as Alida Topp can play Chopin, but who can not himself

(fig. 8) Cast from the original in the Vatican, *Demosthenes* (c.1858), Boston Athenaeum.

compose'.⁵⁵ He wrote about a copy of Raphael's *Madonna della Seddia* in the Academy in New York, praising the copyist's decision to change elements of the painting: 'If the daring of the artist's skill who copied it has ventured to change the color in some details, the masterly reproduction of the work is not disturbed' (Guernsey, 418). The article reveals not only the popularity of copies, but also helps to give an impression of how easily accessible these works of art were; albeit in a secondhand form. A year after James had published 'The Madonna of the Future' in 1873, which directly refers to the painting, a copy of Raphael's *Madonna Della Seddia* was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum (*BAEI*, 115). This suggests there may have been some deliberate interplay between the material on display in the museums, and the material written about in magazines. Often James writes about statues or works of art that were on display in the Athenaeum (I will cite examples throughout the thesis).

Photography and prints were another popular way in which European works of art could be seen, not only in museums, but also in households. Sally Pierce refers to this practice when she discusses

⁵⁵ Alfred H. Guernsey, 'Editor's Easy Chair', in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 38, Issue 225 (Feb. 1869), 415-420, 417, hereafter Guernsey.

James Elliot Cabot's acquisition of a photography collection for the Boston Athenaeum in 1858, noting that '[a]fter the initial excitement of their arrival, the photographs were bound for preservation and indexed for ease of consultation' (Pierce, 158).⁵⁶ These contained a number of photographs of art from Italy, likely provided by the various photographers available in cultural centres such as Rome, Florence, and Venice (Pierce, 157-8). By the late 1860s, photographs such as these were also available more widely; it was by then common for tourists to buy reproduction photographs to show their friends and family.⁵⁷ The Fratelli Alinari studio in Florence, established in 1852, grew to become a popular centre from which tourists could buy such copies.

James wrote of the difficult choice between indulging in purchasing photographs or not in a letter to William James on March 8th 1870: 'As soon as I arrived in Italy I saw that I must either buy more than I believed I had means for or leave them quite alone [...] I am sure that as notes for future reference photos. are unapproached & indispensable' (CL1855-72:2, 317). James also wrote to his brother on December 27th 1869 that 'I believe by the way I never explicitly assured you of the greatness of [Michelangelo's] Moses – or of the vileness of that calumnious photograph' (CL1855-72:2, 238-9). Referring, one supposes, to a photograph they had seen in America, James is able to send home word that the image doesn't do Michelangelo's statue justice, and it is in fact 'a work of magnificent beauty' (CL1855-72:2, 239).⁵⁸ From the other side of the Atlantic, in 1871, after returning to Boston, he writes to Grace Norton, travelling in Austria at the time, that 'I have been looking up Innsbruck [sic?] in various works at the Athenaeum, so that I may at least spend a few summer hours with you in spirit' (CL1855-72:2, 406).⁵⁹ The use of prints and photographs in these exchanges shows how James makes use of them from both sides of the

⁵⁶ Sally Pierce, 'Prints and Photographs at the Boston Athenaeum', in *The Boston Athenaeum: Bicentennial Essays*, ed. by Richard Wendorf (Hanover & London: The Boston Athenaeum, 2009), 149-191, 157, hereafter Pierce.

⁵⁷ In 'Travelling Companions', Miss Evans compares a photograph of Christ from Da Vinci's *Last Supper* to the original; her father comments, "'They'll not think much of that at home'" (TC, 175).

⁵⁸ James was to later refer to the statue in *Roderick Hudson* (See p. 229).

⁵⁹ In 'Four Meetings' (1877), the narrator shows the young Miss Caroline Spencer photographs from Italy; he describes the effect of them as being akin to courtship: 'She looked as pretty as if, instead of showing her photographs, I had been making love to her'. Henry James, 'Four Meetings', in *The Complete Tales of Henry James: 1876-1882*, ed. by Leon Edel (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), 87-118, 91.

Atlantic; to imagine how Europe looks from the States, and to relate to his family how the images compare to the Italian originals.

With these visual devices in mind, Giorcelli and Mariani's complaints about the 'picturesque' way James portrays Italians in his writing seem to be wilfully unsympathetic to the context in which James was writing. Another of the most popular works of art on display at the Athenaeum throughout the nineteenth century was Albert Bierstadt's *Arch of Octavius* – displayed regularly from its unveiling in 1858 till 1873 – which portrays a street scene of local Italians, including a tourist holding his *Baedeker* (BAEI, 20, fig. 9). Referring to Italians in a strongly visual way allows James to allude to paintings such as this that his readers would recognise. However, his early tales in particular try to delve beyond the surface of the image and discover the social and moral dynamics of Italian life, drawing on accounts of Italy from literary sources that allow him to engage with the country on a more intellectual and moral level.

Literary Sources: John Murray's Handbooks for Travellers

Though unprepared for certain social aspects of being in Italy, as I will explore in Chapter Three, the nineteenth-century traveller was able to acclimatise himself *culturally* speaking with relative ease. Reading Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* was a way of preparing for a journey to the country, a means of whetting an appetite for culture, whilst also providing instruction on places of interest and how one ought to view them in situ – encouraging the reader to connect larger ideas to the visual stimuli and experience of Italy. To quote the book itself, '[a] mind that is not previously prepared for a visit to Italy is deprived of the greatest portion of pleasure (to say nothing of the instruction) that he would otherwise derive.'⁶⁰ Preparation, according to Murray, consisted of reading many works of art criticism and novels, including Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi*, Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*, and Murray's own publication of Kugler's *Handbook of Italian Painting* (JMNI, xxiii-iv). In this way, the text encouraged an approach to visiting Italy that viewed the country in the light of its portrayal in literature and treatment by art critics. As Barbara Schaff writes, by using 'frequent and

⁶⁰ John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (London: John Murray, 1869), xxi, hereafter JMNI.



(fig. 9) Albert Bierstadt, *Roman Fish Market, or The Arch of Octavius* (1858), Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco.

extensive literary quotations', Murray provided a guide to how one ought to react to them: 'through literature, sites and works of art are represented as spectacles, which immediately evoke an emotional response along the prescribed norms set by the given literary context.'⁶¹ James expresses this prescribed sentiment in a letter he wrote to his mother in 1869, where he writes of the cultural sites he has seen in Milan: 'I saw there pretty much all that is worth seeing, & I think I can lay my hand on my heart (or on my Murray: they are now identical) & say that I know Milan' (*CL1855-72*: 2, 96). The jocular association of his heart with Murray here indicates the important enabling role the guide played in his perception of Italian culture on his initial trip.

John Pemble writes that the handbook was among 'the characteristic insignia of Anglo-Saxon tourists',⁶² and this is apparent in much of James' fiction. The handbook itself acts as a signifier of the nationality of the narrator of 'Travelling Companions' to Mr. Evans when they first meet:

Meanwhile, her father perceived my Murray.

"English, sir?" he demanded.

"No, I'm an American, like yourself, I fancy." (TC, 174)

Throughout the story, James' references to Murray are of this standard variety; tourists use the book at sites of interest as an instructive text with regard to the images and places they are confronting.

Similarly, James explicitly names Murray in the opening pages of 'At Isella', thus identifying it as a text that deals with the idea of approaching Italy in a visually imaginative way. In fact James makes reference to either Murray or Baedeker in nearly all of the tales in this study (the exceptions being 'The Madonna of the Future' and 'Adina'). At the beginning of 'At Isella', Murray's *Northern Italy* replaces Baedeker's *Switzerland* in order of importance once the narrator has decided to visit Italy: 'I pined for a cathedral or a gallery' (Isella, 307).⁶³ He writes that 'instead of dutifully conning my

⁶¹ Barbara Schaff, 'John Murray's *Handbooks to Italy*: Making Tourism Literary', in *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*, ed. by Nicola J. Watson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 106-118, 110.

⁶² John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 72.

⁶³ For a discussion of the distinction between Baedeker and Murray see: Jan Palmowski, 'Travels with Baedeker – The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain', in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. by Rudy Koshar (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2002), 105-130, 120, hereafter Palmowski.

Swiss Baedeker, I had fretfully deflavored my Murray's North Italy' (Isella, 307).⁶⁴ As will be seen, it is partly this preparation of the mind for Italian culture that leads the narrator to perceive both the landscape and the Italians he encounters in terms of a preconceived set of cultural references, causing him to attach attributes and meaning to them that fit into this established framework for understanding Italy. James also uses the motif of tourists reading Murray elsewhere – in 'The Last of the Valerii' and *Roderick Hudson* – to slightly different effects, which will be discussed in the relevant chapters.

Of course, Murray was not the only source of James' introduction to Italy; there were many other writers and art critics who played a role in his perception of the country, especially Hippolyte Taine, John Ruskin, and French novelists such as Stendhal and George Sand who had dealt with Italy. Literature was a key way to understand Italy more deeply, as Mrs. Hudson acknowledges in *Roderick Hudson* when, upon arrival in Rome, she says to the cultured Rowland Mallet that 'I am afraid we are not qualified, you know, [...] We are told that you must know so much, that you must have read so many books. Our taste has not been cultivated' (*RH*, 380). Her relative lack of reading means she feels disqualified, unable to culturally appreciate the country, or that it inhibits her response, since she has no guidance on how to respond to Italian culture.

Ruskin and Taine helped cultivate James' own taste on his first visit to Italy – James read Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* on arrival in that city and had reviewed Taine's *Voyage en Italie* before leaving for Europe. Yet the art critic and travel guide were far from separable entities; indeed, Jan Palmowski has claimed that:

the author of *Stones of Venice* and *Modern Painters* simply expressed better than anybody else what scores of travelers experienced, and what they ought to experience themselves. Ruskin, middle-class travel, and the guidebook are thus related, albeit indirectly. Many travel journals point to the importance of Ruskin in their vision of Switzerland, which Murray in turn enabled them to verify and deepen (Palmowski, 113).

⁶⁴ 'deflavored' is the word used in both *The Complete Tales of Henry James* and the *Galaxy*, but it is possible that this is a typographic error arising from a misreading of James' handwriting, and James meant 'deflowered', a word that has more relevant value and meaning.

As Palmowski goes on to explain, Ruskin himself provided a number of his own observations about Italian art in the second edition of *Murray's Handbook to Northern Italy* (1847), described in the preface as 'the author of "Modern Painters"', although by the 1860s, whilst his passages remained, he was no longer acknowledged as the author (Palmowski, 114).⁶⁵

The template of responses that these texts provided was not always followed to the letter; James increasingly took issue with Ruskin in his writing as his experience of Italy deepened. As will be seen in the following section, there were marked differences in the American reception of Ruskin and Taine, both by James himself and other critics of the period. The contrast between the two writers' systems of understanding and appreciating Italian culture was to become a key part in the way James wrote about Italy in his fiction. Both James' writing about Italy in letters to his family and his tales show much of the influence of the two writers.

American Perspectives on Ruskin and Taine

In this section I explore how Ruskin and Taine helped influence and shape James' perception of Italy, as well as exploring the reception of their works in American magazines. It is important to note that I am not dealing with James' impressions chronologically. Despite James reading Taine before his travels in Europe, and Ruskin during, I am dealing with the two writers in terms of the chronology of their works; Ruskin, the more famous critic, had published his major works several decades before Taine had published his. Taine emerges as somewhat of a foil to Ruskin, which is what I want to draw attention to.

James had a number of encounters with the author of *Stones of Venice* and *Modern Painters* throughout his early trip to Europe, both on paper and in person. He was invited to dine at Ruskin's house on March 23rd 1869 through a letter of introduction by their mutual friend Charles Eliot Norton (*CL*1855-72:1, 256). Of the man himself, he wrote that 'to see him only confirms the impression given by his writing, that he has been scared back by the grim face of reality into the

⁶⁵ John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, ed. by Sir F. Palgrave (London: John Murray, 1847), x.

world of unreason & illusion & that he wanders there without a compass & a guide – or any light save the fitful flashes of his beautiful genius’ (CL1855-72:1, 256). He made mention of Ruskin often in his travels around Italy; most notably he wrote on September 17th 1869 that whilst he enjoyed ‘immensely’ the palaces of Palladio at Vicenza, ‘since coming here [to Venice] & getting hold of a vol. of Ruskin’s *Stones of V*, I find he pronounces Palladio infamous & I must blot out that shameful day’ (CL1855-72:2, 105). Despite the offhand nature of the comment – it seems rather jokingly made – he obviously felt much admiration for Ruskin; later, on 13th April 1871, he described *Stones of Venice* to Grace Norton as ‘gorgeous prose’ (CL1855-72:1, 399). His long letter to William James from Venice of September 25th 1869 also makes much mention of *Stones of Venice*, recommending that William read the last appendix of the book, which deals with Tintoretto’s paintings, saying it contains ‘a number of magnificent descriptive pages touching his principal paintings. (The whole appendix by the way, with all its exasperating points is invaluable to the visitor here & I have profited much by it)’ (CL1855-72:2, 116).⁶⁶ On his later excursions to Italy, James was increasingly rude about Ruskin, writing publicly in 1878 that his *Mornings in Florence* ‘seemed invidious and insane’.⁶⁷ His general praise of Ruskin’s prose in 1869 was already in contrast to the opinion of other writers of the time.⁶⁸

Magazines regularly reviewed Ruskin’s works, and these provide an interesting context for James’ attitude to Ruskin, both publicly and privately. A review of the final volume of *Modern Painters* in the August 1860 *Atlantic Monthly* summarises well the quite often self-contradictory development of Ruskin’s approach to criticism when it notes that

that conclusion of Ruskin’s, in the new volume, which will interest his earnest readers is that the Venetian school is *the only religious school that has ever existed*. So much has

⁶⁶ This is most likely in reference to the ‘Venetian Index’. John Ruskin, *Stones of Venice: Vol. 3* (London, George Allen, 1900), 273-364, hereafter *SoV*[*Vol. No.*].

⁶⁷ Henry James, ‘Recent Florence’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 41, Issue 247 (May 1878), 586-598, 590.

⁶⁸ Roger Stein has described the backlash against Ruskin in the 1860s in his chapter ‘The Attack on Ruskin: Aesthetic Theory and Practice’. Roger B. Stein, *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America: 1840-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 186-223, 209-221 especially deal with James’ role in this debate.

Ruskin's development seemed to contradict itself, that one is scarcely surprised at one conclusion being apparently opposed to the former one.⁶⁹

Ruskin's emphasis on analysing art from a moral perspective is why he was perceived as such a heavy-handed writer – the reviewer praises him for being 'less dogmatic, calmer, more convincing' in the final volume (R:MP, 242). A review of his later work *The Mystery of Life and its Arts*, from 1870, notes that 'in Mr. Ruskin's mind all art is inseparably connected with life, character, religion, motive. [...] we think that his moods color and even shape his ideas. And if this be so, it may help to give us a key by which we may in a measure explain much in his writings that seems paradoxical and capricious.'⁷⁰ This, along with James' comments about Ruskin's stern derision of Palladio's architecture, paints a picture of a man who was considered by many to be inconsistent and overly moral in his judgments. In the late 1860s, Hippolyte Taine emerged as a critic who provided an alternative to Ruskin's dogmatic pedantry for both James and a wider audience.

In July 1869, the American artist and critic Eugene Benson, who contributed regularly from Paris to the *Atlantic Monthly*, wrote an article entitled 'French and English Art-Writers', comparing the approach of Ruskin to that of Taine. By way of introducing the comparison, he states that Taine and other French critics 'would not together make such a mixed and inconsistent statement of doctrine and practice as is furnished by a thousand pages of John Ruskin's writing.'⁷¹ He goes on to summarise the two writers thus: 'If you wish to be helped to an intelligent and harmonious knowledge of art in its social significance and historic aspects, you should read Taine; if you wish to share a passionate study and to examine art in its relation to morality and nature, you should read Ruskin. [...] Back of Ruskin are the Bible and nature; back of Taine, man and epochs of civilization' (FEAW, 121). Here Benson emphasises the contrast between Taine and Ruskin's approaches to art; Taine's being favoured for its coherence compared to Ruskin's complex prose.

⁶⁹ Anon, 'Reviews and Literary Notices: Ruskin's *Modern Painters*', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 6, Issue 34 (Aug. 1860), 239-242, 241, hereafter R:MP.

⁷⁰ Anon, 'Reviews and Literary Notices: Ruskin's *The Mystery of Life and its Arts*', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 25, Issue 151 (May 1870), 635-637, 636-7.

⁷¹ Eugene Benson, 'French and English Art-Writers', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 24, Issue 141 (July 1869), 119-125, 119, hereafter FEAW.

When two volumes of Joseph Durand's translation of Taine's *Voyage en Italie* were published in New York in 1867, reviews of it were published in many of the American literary magazines of the period, including the *Atlantic Monthly*. James' own review appeared in the *Nation*. The *Atlantic*'s reviewer – like Benson – described the book in contrast to Ruskin, commenting that 'M. Taine studies art from its history, and not its history from its art, as Mr. Ruskin does, for example; and we think he has by far the clearer idea of the time, its people, and its works.'⁷² Praising Taine for having 'very clear eyes; he sees what is before him – a rare and wonderful faculty in a traveller' (R:TI, 124), the reviewer also described the book as 'singularly untouristic' in the sense that there were 'no traveller's adventures, and few traveller's anecdotes' (R:TI, 125-6). James had a great admiration for Taine, writing in his review of the translation for the *Nation* that the 'two volumes form a truly great production [...] as a contribution to literature and history'.⁷³

Taine's approach to art criticism diverged markedly from Ruskin's. Instead of looking at art from a moral perspective, Taine preferred to discuss art in relation to the moral context it had been created in. As James describes it in his review for the *Nation*, he is 'a great stickler, in literary and historical problems, for the credit of national and local influences' (HJ:RIN, 826). This theory, known as *la race, le milieu, le moment*, is explained in detail in Taine's *History of English Literature* (1864). Part of Taine's theory included a consideration of how a change in *milieu* altered the moral temperature of artists and writers, and thus their art. His belief was that the sentiments and moral temperatures of different countries were influenced by their climate and surroundings:

Though we can follow but obscurely the Aryan peoples from their common fatherland to their final countries, we can yet assert that the profound differences which are manifest between the German races on the one side, and the Greek and Latin on the other, arise for the most part from the difference between the countries in which they are settled: some in cold moist lands, deep in black marshy forests or on the shores of a

⁷² Anon, 'Reviews and Literary Notices: Taine's *Italy, Rome and Naples*', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 2, Issue 129 (July 1868), 124-126, 125, hereafter R:TI.

⁷³ Henry James, 'Review of Taine's *Italy: Rome and Naples*', in *Nation* (May 7th 1868), repr. in *Literary Criticism: French Writers, Other European Writers, The Prefaces to the New York Edition* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 826-31, 831, hereafter HJ:RIN. James had written to William James on 21st May 1867 that he had 'been reading Taine's *Italy* - which made me hungry for works of art' (CL1855-72:1, 169). James is referring to the French edition here; Durand's translation wasn't published until the following year.

wild ocean, caged in by melancholy or violent sensations, prone to drunkenness and gluttony, bent on a fighting, blood-spilling life; others, again, within the loveliest landscapes, on a bright and laughing sea-coast, enticed to navigation and commerce, exempt from gross cravings of the stomach, inclined from the beginning to social ways, to a settled organisation of the state, to feelings and dispositions such as develop the art of oratory, the talent for enjoyment, the inventions of science, letters, arts.⁷⁴

James was a cautious advocate of this approach to reading national types. Despite questioning in his review of *Italy: Rome and Naples* whether the theory 'is an adequate explanation of the various complications of any human organism', in contrast to the *Atlantic Monthly* reviewer, he felt that the book would be of benefit to tourists: 'what you wish in a companion, a guide, is to help you accumulate *data*, to call attention to facts' (HJ:*RIN*, 829-30). Thus, James highlighted the benefits he saw in Taine's scientific approach of 'the *race*, the *surroundings*, and the *epoch*' for the study of literature in approaching national differences in a general sense, particularly for tourists (*HEL*, 10). However he certainly had reservations about the value of this approach to studying art and literature – commenting that 'he is no sentimentalist [...] To his perception man is extremely interesting as an object of study, but he is without sanctity or mystery of any sort' (HJ:*RIN*, 829). In much the same way as he wrote about Ruskin to William James, James made a number of references to Taine in his letters home, noting Taine's assessment of "'Venice & Oxford – [as] the two most picturesque cities in Europe'" (*CL1855-72:2*, 112-3),⁷⁵ and referring to Taine 'speak[ing] rather memorably' of Velasquez's portrait of Innocent X in Florence (*CL1855-72:2*, 211).⁷⁶

Jeremiah J. Sullivan, in his otherwise useful overview of James' relationship with Taine's writing, has argued that '*The American* is James's only novel that even remotely follows Taine's ideas', claiming

⁷⁴ Hippolyte Taine, *History of English Literature*, trans. by H. Van Laun (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871), 11, hereafter *HEL*.

⁷⁵ James is misquoting from memory here. Taine actually writes that 'I know of but one city that approaches [Venice] – very remotely, and only on account of its architecture – and that is, Oxford'. Hippolyte Taine, *Italy: Florence and Venice*, trans. by J. Durand (New York: Leypoldt & Holt, 1869), 218.

⁷⁶ Taine had written that Innocent had 'a red face, that of a miserable fool and pedant'. Hippolyte Taine, *Italy: Rome and Naples*, trans. by J. Durand (London: Williams and Norgate, 1867), 227.

that 'only as a critic and writer of belles-lettres can James be viewed as definitely influenced by Taine'.⁷⁷ Yet throughout James' early engagement with Italy, particularly in the fiction considered in this thesis, Taine's influence is undeniably present, as he makes repeated reference to the differences in Italian landscape and character not only from those of his own homeland, America, but also from those of the rest of Europe – both areas of the globe with a marked difference in climate to that of Italy.

Despite the differences that were so greatly emphasised by critics, Ruskin and Taine had similar ideas about the role the difference in climate between Northern and Southern Europe played in shaping national differences. In *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin had put forward the theory that one could read the history of Medieval Venetian society through its architecture, and that climate played a large role in the contrasts between Northern and Southern European architecture – a difference created by the necessity of erecting buildings quickly in the cold North:

Imagine the difference between the action of a man urging himself to his work in a snowstorm, and the action of one laid at his length on a sunny bank among the cicadas and fallen olives, and you will have the key to a whole group of sympathies which are forcibly expressed in the architecture of both (*SoV:1*, 153).

Here and elsewhere in the book, Ruskin associates different nations with characteristics determined by their environment: 'the industry of the tribes of the North, quickened by the coldness of the climate [...] as opposed to the languor of the Southern tribes' (*SoV:2*, 201).

Correspondingly, in terms of aesthetics, owing to the time the Venetians had to invest in building their architecture, he found that 'the Gothic of the Ducal Palace of Venice is in harmony with all that is grand in the world: that of the North is in harmony with the grotesque Northern spirit only' (*SoV:2*, 153).

On his own trip to Venice, James struggled to engage with the 'Spirit of the South – or whatever one may call the confounded thing', writing to his brother William of his time in the Ducal Palace, Ruskin in hand:

⁷⁷ Jeremiah J. Sullivan, 'Henry James and Hippolyte Taine: The Historical and Scientific Method in Literature', in *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. X, Issue 1 (1973), 25-50, 47.

Ruskin recommends the traveller to frequent and linger in a certain glorious room at the Ducal Palace where P. Veronese revels on the ceilings & Tintoret rages on the walls because he “nowhere else will enter so deeply into the heart of Venice.” But I feel as if I might sit there forever [...] & only feel more & more my inexorable Yankeehood (CL1855-72:2, 113).⁷⁸

This idea of the ‘Spirit of the South’, and James’ inability to get to grips with it – though he simultaneously claims he could ‘feel it in all my pulses’ (CL1855-72:2, 113) – demonstrates his recognition of the influence that a change in climate and milieu should have on him, and awareness that the change in ‘spirit’ only makes him feel more American. This theme of Americans being unable to escape their own Yankeehood in Europe is noticeable throughout James’ tales on the International theme.

James & Other Writers on Italy

Ruskin and Taine were the main writers James mentions in his letters home, but they are by no means the only ones. He also makes reference to a large number of French novelists and critics, including Stendhal, George Sand, and Theophile Gautier. Whilst writing at length to William James on the 25th of September 1869 about his first experience of Venice, he almost gives up, writing ‘I should like to treat you to a dozen pages more about this watery paradise. Read Theophile Gautier’s *Italia*; it’s chiefly about Venice’ (CL1855-72:2, 118).⁷⁹ Eugene Benson had written about Gautier in the *Atlantic*, describing him as ‘the literary artist – a being preoccupied with art in all its forms and seeking all possible means of fine and luxurious sensation’.⁸⁰ This emphasis on his literary work as ‘full of artistic forms’ was an approach that James himself was to adopt in his own writing about Italy (TG, 664). Their shared preoccupation with describing paintings and trying to capture images in words is certainly worth noting, although there is little mention of Gautier apart from his art

⁷⁸ The quote by Ruskin is in reference to the Sala del Collegio (*Stones*3: 293).

⁷⁹ Tamara Follini writes of James’ early Italian travel sketches that he ‘attempts to unite the pictorial quality he found in Gautier and some of the intellectual strength of Taine’. Henry James, *Italian Hours*, intro. by Tamara Follini (London: Century Hutchinson Ltd., 1986), xiv.

⁸⁰ Eugene Benson, ‘Theophile Gautier’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 21, Issue 128 (June 1878), 664-671, 671, hereafter TG.

criticism in James' writings of the time. Another French writer of fiction to whom James refers in his letters home is Stendhal, whom he described as being 'a capital observer & a good deal of a thinker. He really knows Italy' (CL1855-72:1, 179). In both cases, James concentrates on the way the author describes Italy's visual material, emphasising the aesthetic interest James had in Italy regardless of a piece of writing's genre.

On a final note about James' literary approach to Italy, it is worth mentioning his time in neighbouring Switzerland, where he makes reference of a number of other writers, and some already discussed. Arriving in Switzerland, he wrote to his mother on June 28th 1869 that he would 'extremely like to be able to depict the nature of this charming country; but to do so requires the pen of a Ruskin or a G. Sand' (CL1855-72:2, 39). James was to use a reference to one of George Sand's Venetian novels, *La Dernière Aldini*, in 'Travelling Companions'. In a review of one of her novels, *Mademoiselle Merquem*, in the *Nation*, he claimed that 'we believe we have read them all', marking himself as somewhat of an authority on her works.⁸¹ In this review he quotes at length a description in her novel *Teverino* of mountain scenery, praising it for it being so 'free, comprehensive, and sincere' (R:GS, 699). He goes on to note that he finds her to 'have celebrated but a single passion – the passion of love [...] Balzac, we may say, [...] is a novelist, and George Sand a romancer' (R:GS, 700-1). By referring in his letter to both Ruskin and George Sand then, James is pairing them as writers he associates with passionate prose. However, other writers about George Sand chose to emphasise the scandal of her private life, which one critic commented on in an article about Sand's *Histoire de ma Vie* (1855), referring to Sand's 'great struggle between conservative discipline and revolutionary inspiration'.⁸² Sand was renowned for having numerous affairs with writers and composers, such as Alfred de Musset, Jules Sandeau, and Frederic Chopin. James described her writing when it first appeared in the States as being considered 'delightful and intoxicating, but scandalous, dangerous, and seditious. To read George Sand in America was to be a socialist, a transcendentalist, and an abolitionist' (R:GS, 696). Identifying her with these issues,

⁸¹ Henry James, 'Review of George Sand's *Mademoiselle Merquem*', in the *Nation* (July 16th 1868), repr. in *Literary Criticism: French Writers, Other European Writers, The Prefaces to the New York Edition* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 696-701, 697.

⁸² Anon, 'George Sand', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 8, Issue 49 (Nov. 1861), 513-534, 514, hereafter R:GS.

especially as a woman writer, also makes one wonder how James viewed the “Woman Question” at the time, as well as how it was portrayed in magazines.

The James family, Ruskin, and J.S. Mill: The “Woman Question”

Ruskin’s famous rumination on the roles of the sexes, *Sesame and Lilies*, had declared in 1865 that a woman should occupy the domestic sphere and follow pursuits that enabled her to support and encourage her husband: ‘We hear of the mission and right of Woman, as if these could ever be separate from the mission and the rights of Man; as if she and her lord were creatures of independent kind and of irreconcilable claim.’⁸³ Ruskin included a preface that spoke of the relationship between Switzerland and the *male* tourist. For Ruskin, Switzerland provided men with the opportunity to conquer nature, although he argued that it had become too much of a ‘vulgar’ occupation: ‘while no gentleman boasts in other cases of his sagacity or his courage [...] every man among the Alps seems to lose his senses and modesty with the fall of the barometer, and returns from his Nephelo-cocytia [– the act of finding shapes in clouds –] brandishing his ice-axe in everybody’s face’ (*S&L*, ix-x). James seems to echo this association of Switzerland with masculinity in his letter to his mother, where he describes it as being like ‘a magnificent man’ (*CL1855-72:2*, 95), and elsewhere, particularly in ‘At Isella’. But that tale is also careful to associate Italy with femininity in much the same manner as Ruskin, echoing the questions of what women’s role in society ought to be, a topic of great pertinence for the Victorians, particularly Ruskin and John Stuart Mill.

Unlike the men he addressed in *Sesames and Lilies*, Ruskin did not want to give women the opportunity to partake in aspects of life that he considered unfeminine; membership of the Alpine club being just one of the many roles he considered reserved for the male of the species. Instead, he expected women to engage in pursuits that ‘may rightly be possessed [...] within their sphere’ (*S&L*, 122). Ruskin’s attitude to gender roles was counterbalanced by J. S. Mill in his book *The Subjection of Women* (1869), where he wrote that ‘the subjection of women to men being a universal custom, any departure from it naturally appears unnatural’, going on to cite the comparative freedom of

⁸³ John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1865), 124, hereafter *S&L*.

Spartan women as a contradicting example: ‘There can be little doubt that Spartan experience suggested to Plato [...] the social and political equality of the two sexes.’⁸⁴

Mill’s argument is close to Taine’s – where one’s environment determines one’s behaviour – women are “naturally” more subservient because they are given no opportunity to be in an environment where they can behave independently. He even engages in a similar discourse on the contrasts between different nations’ temperaments, linking it to the “Woman Question”:

Like the French compared with the English, the Irish with the Swiss, the Greeks or Italians compared with the German races, so women compared with men may be found, on the average, to do the same things with some variety in the particular kind of excellence. But, that they would do them fully as well on the whole, if their education and cultivation were adapted to correcting instead of aggravating the infirmities incident to their temperament, I see not the smallest reason to doubt (Mill, 109).

On the 12th July, 1869, having spent the previous week ‘roving’ around Switzerland in a manner that Ruskin might well have approved of, James admitted to his brother William that ‘[m]y one intellectual feat is having read J.S. Mill on the subjection of women at Vevey’ (*CL1855-1872:2*, 56). He gives no further discussion of his opinion of the book here or elsewhere; the only places he does comment on it indirectly are in letters to both William and his father, when he acknowledges having read their reviews of the book, published in the *North American Review* and the *Atlantic Monthly* respectively.

Strikingly, both Henry James Sr. and his son William reviewed Mill’s book together with an American book on the same topic, but from opposite sides of the political spectrum and of the Atlantic Ocean – pairing it with *Women’s Suffrage: The Reform Against Nature*, by Horace Bushnell, a conservative member of the American clergy. For William James, Bushnell’s book was not a ‘serious contribution’, as he saw problems in the argument: ‘first a vociferous proclamation of the utter and radical peculiarity of the womanly nature; then a nervous terror of its being altered from its

⁸⁴ John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869), 24-25, hereafter Mill.

foundations by a few outward changes [e.g. being given the vote].⁸⁵ He also alludes to Ruskin in the review when describing Bushnell's position on how women would be so altered, when he says, citing Shakespeare's sonnet, 'lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds' (WJ:Mill, 558). Henry makes reference to the article in a letter to William, saying he thought it had been 'very well & fluently written' (CL1855-1872:2, 167), yet declines to comment on the content in any detail, although one assumes he would have been aware of the significance of the lily reference.

Henry James Sr.'s review approved more of Bushnell's insistence on the difference between the sexes, saying that the way women behaved in general was 'so generically distinct from that of man as utterly to confute the notion of her being merely his female.'⁸⁶ As Andrew Taylor has discussed, Henry James Jr.'s response to the review 'indicates a degree of shared sentiment':⁸⁷ he wrote to him that he was 'very glad to see some one not Dr. Bushnell & all that genus insist upon the distinction of sexes' (CL1855-72:2, 256). Henry seems then to be marginally more conservative in his position on women than his brother William, making it a point of interest to see how he translates this into his fiction, particularly in relation to questions of aesthetics.

Kate Millett describes the difference between Mill and Ruskin's approaches to the woman question as being linked to the types of historical approach they use: much like Taine, 'Mill had consulted social history and law; Ruskin trusted to poetry, and his history of women is based on the gossamer of literary idealization.'⁸⁸ This is a key contrast, and raises interesting questions about the link between women and the arts that James himself was to engage with in his fiction. Mill uses the example of the world of literature as being a sphere in which women were more than capable of equalling men: 'Our best novelists in points of composition, and of the management of detail, have mostly been women' (Mill, 112-3). In contrast to this advocacy of women's right to work on an

⁸⁵ William James, 'Critical Notices', in *The North American Review*, Vol. 109, Issue 225 (Oct. 1869), 556-565, 559, hereafter WJ:Mill.

⁸⁶ Henry James Sr., 'The Woman Thou Gavest Me', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 25, Issue 147 (Jan. 1870), 66-72, 66.

⁸⁷ Andrew Taylor, *Henry James and the Father Question* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 158.

⁸⁸ Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1969, repr. 2000), 101.

equal level to men, Ruskin talks of women only as consumers of literature, writing that a girl's 'range of literature should be, not more, but less frivolous; calculated to add the qualities of patience and seriousness to her natural poignancy of thought and quickness of wit, and also to keep her in a lofty and pure element of thought' (*S&L*, 162). This suggests that a woman should be afforded freedom both in reading material, and in questions of aesthetics, as long as it helps her to fit into the sphere she is intended to inhabit. The contrast here is between Mill's encouragement of women to take active roles in shaping literary culture, amongst other pursuits, and Ruskin's expectation that they be passive connoisseurs of culture.

For James, questions about the role of women are inextricably linked to aesthetics. Women in his fiction are compared to women from history or myth by men, or they identify themselves with specific works of art or literature, suggesting a connection between their moral behaviour and that of the figure they are being compared to. Both James' familiarity with Taine's theories, and his reading of Mill and subsequent reviews of the text whilst in Switzerland and Italy, the land most rich in aesthetic culture, provided him enough material with which to engage in his fiction with the relationship between culture and character and in particular to examine the contrast between women's behaviour in Europe and America. This theme is particularly noticeable in the early short stories explored in this thesis, in which James makes references to women as they figure in European visual and literary culture.

Chapter Two. “The Travelled Reader”: Visual and Literary Perspectives in ‘Travelling Companions’ (1870)

‘Travelling Companions’, James’ first story to deal with Italy, was written in 1870, the year he had returned from his European travels. The tale follows the route many tourists took through Italy: starting in Milan, in front of Leonardo da Vinci’s *Cenacolo* (or *Last Supper*), its characters move on to Venice, where they see many of the famous sights, such as the Ducal Palace and St Mark’s, and finally continuing to Rome for the conclusion of the tale. The tale’s narrator is Mr. Brooke, a young German-educated American, visiting Italy for the first time. As he travels through Italy, he frequently encounters the Evanses – a young American girl and her father – also on their maiden voyage to the country. As they exchange their impressions of Italy and view many of the paintings and churches of Milan, Venice, and Rome, Mr. Brooke quickly becomes enamoured of Charlotte Evans. In Venice, he reveals his love for her, which she conscientiously rejects on the grounds that he is being unduly swayed by the poetry and romance of Italy – still keeping him, however, as a close companion. One day they travel alone to the nearby town of Padua, where they spend so long talking that they miss the last train to Venice, forcing them to stay the night in a hotel alone together, albeit in separate chambers. On returning to Venice, and keen to avoid a scandal, Mr. Brooke proposes to Charlotte, but she rejects him, saying that practically their union would never work because they are not behaving as they would in America. They go their separate ways, but he encounters her once again in Rome a few months later. Her father has died. Mr. Brooke takes the opportunity to renew his declaration of love for her, and this time she accepts him.

Critics have tended to make connections between Mr. Brooke and James himself, claiming that James is simply writing about his own experience of Italy, and attaching a loose plot to fictionalise what is essentially travel writing. Cornelia Kelley judges that the tale is ‘a mixture of travel report and art criticism with the story incidental and not at all necessary to the interest’.⁸⁹ Carl Maves claims that “‘Travelling Companions’ finds its closest analogue in the sort of Technicolour film that stitches together exotic locales with a thin romantic fable; it is the scenery that counts, people are

⁸⁹ Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley, *The Early Development of Henry James* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930, repr. 1972), 114.

only a pretext. The distance between author and narrator is often so infinitesimal as hardly to be calculable.’⁹⁰ On the surface, this makes some sense: there are definitely elements of James in Mr. Brooke’s writing about art; some passages about paintings are very similar to James’ own letters on the same subjects. But it is reductive to say that there is very little connection between the people and the scenery being discussed. In fact, as I hope to illustrate, the two are very closely connected, which is made clearer when the tale is read in the context of its original publication in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Similarly, there are problems with James Buzard’s claim that the tale is aimed at the kind of reader who, ‘themselves untraveled, needs to be told about Italy’ (Buzard, 239). In the opening lines of the tale, James describes Leonardo Da Vinci’s *Last Supper*, saying ‘the fresco covers a wall, the reader will *remember*’ (TC, 171, emphasis my own). Asking the reader to ‘remember’ their own impression of the painting suggests that his readership was already fairly knowledgeable about Italian art, an assumption which James refers to again when he says later in Venice that ‘the *travelled* reader will remember, [Tintoretto] has painted two masterpieces on this tremendous theme [of the crucifixion]’ (TC, 205, emphasis my own). Directly addressing his *Atlantic* readership this way indicates a satisfaction that they would recognise the significance of his allusions to certain paintings and literary references, and therefore see the connections between them and the plot.⁹¹ There is also an element of flattery in James suggesting the reader is cultured and well-travelled, even though they may not be.

The assumption that his readers would be receptive to James’ references allows him to be subtle and complex in his approach to the way characters perceive the relationship between culture and the people around them in this tale. He uses the two main characters, Mr. Brooke and Miss Charlotte Evans, to embody two contrasting approaches to Italian culture; Brooke reveres the technical skill of artists, whilst Miss Evans’ attraction to novels and narrative based images implies a more literary approach. This leaves them, especially Miss Evans, with rather crossed wires as to

⁹⁰ Carl Maves, *Sensuous Pessimism: Italy in the Work of Henry James* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 10, hereafter Maves.

⁹¹ As will be seen in the next chapter, James uses a different approach for the *Galaxy*’s readers in ‘At Isella’.

how they understand one another's moral intentions. For the contemporary reader of James, many of the allusions to art and literature are suggestive of the two characters' approaches to observing both each other and Italian art and people. It is principally this distinction between the two approaches that takes the tale beyond the traditional view that it is 'more a travelogue than a work of fiction' (Maves, 10).

Firstly in this chapter, I will examine James' relationship with the *Atlantic Monthly*, particularly with its soon-to-be editor, William Dean Howells, and briefly summarise the magazine's coverage of Italian culture relevant to the tale. Then, I discuss the way James emphasises the relationship between character and culture in the tale, and how Mr. Brooke and Miss Evans differ in their approaches to understanding this relationship. I later study Mr. Brooke's view of Miss Evans throughout the tale, and how he associates her with religious icons, before then going on to examine Miss Evans' perspective, which James reveals through the way she reads paintings and fiction. Through directly referencing well-known works of art and fiction, James encourages his readers to see the relationship between the cultural references and the characters' interpretations of them, thereby enhancing their reading of the tale.

Publishing Context

The *Atlantic Monthly* enjoyed its reputation as one of America's foremost literary magazines. Although the *Atlantic's* editor in 1870 was James T. Fields, Frank Mott has noted that 'during the latter part of Field's editorship, [...] he was frequently an absentee editor, leaving the magazine in charge of his assistant, William Dean Howells.'⁹² Fields was to be formally succeeded by Howells in August 1871. Under Howells' editorship in the 1870s, James enjoyed a fruitful relationship with the *Atlantic*, publishing tales, pieces of journalism, and serialisations of his first four novels. This gave him the springboard to launch his literary career both in the States and in England later in that decade. By the time he had written 'Travelling Companions' for the *Atlantic* in 1870, James had a well-established relationship with the magazine; he had already contributed eight tales to it over a

⁹² Frank Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Vol. 2 1850-1865* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 505, hereafter Mott2.

five-year period.⁹³ It was the first of his tales on the “International Theme” to be published after his return to America; of his first attempt, ‘Gabrielle de Bergerac’, a historical tale set in France, written before his European tour, he had commented whilst at Lake Como that ‘[s]ince coming abroad & seeing relics and monuments &c, I’ve got a strong sense of what a grim deathly reality [the past] was, & how little worth one’s while it is to approach it with a pen unless your mind is *bourré* with facts on the subjects – how little indeed it is worthwhile at all to treat it *imaginatively*’ (CL1855-72:2, 87 emphasis my own). It is fitting then that it was in the pages of this magazine that he printed his first story after coming back from Europe, full of “facts” that coloured his work on the “International Theme”. It is also interesting that James would choose Venice as the place to set the majority of the tale, as this was the city where Howells had been the consul from 1861 to 1864. In this regard, the tale was also a way for James to engage with Howells through a shared knowledge of Venetian culture.

Howells was also a regular contributor to the *Atlantic*. Throughout 1867 especially, he had published articles that would be collected and published at the end of the year in his second book of travel writing, *Italian Journeys*. Those published in the *Atlantic* included ‘A Glimpse of Genoa’, ‘At Padua’, and ‘Minor Italian Travels’. In relation to James’ ‘Travelling Companions’, ‘At Padua’ stands out the most, as it discusses both cultural sites that James also references, and the association in the American mind of Padua with Hawthorne’s 1844 tale, ‘Rappaccini’s Daughter’. Howells opens the article by writing ‘[t]hose of my readers who have frequented the garden of Dr. Rappaccini no doubt recall with perfect distinctness the quaint old city.’⁹⁴ This makes an interesting point about how Americans would be able to imagine the city based solely on their reading of a short story. Howells goes on to note that he has visited the city all too often, writing ‘[h]ad I viewed Padua only over the wall of Doctor Rappaccini’s garden, how different my impressions of the city would now be! This is one of the drawbacks of actual knowledge’ (AP, 25). There is a variation of this sentiment in James’

⁹³ The others were: ‘The Story of a Year’ (March 1865), ‘A Landscape Painter’ (Feb. 1866), ‘My Friend Bingham’ (March 1867), ‘Poor Richard’ (June, July, & Aug. 1867), ‘The Romance of Certain Old Clothes’ (Feb. 1868), ‘A Most Extraordinary Case’ (April 1868), ‘De Grey: A Romance’ (July 1868), and ‘Gabrielle de Bergerac’ (July, Aug., & Sept. 1868). Note the increase in frequency of publication of James’ tales over the years.

⁹⁴ William Dean Howells, ‘At Padua’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 20, Issue 117 (July 1867), 25-32, 25, hereafter AP.

discussion of his tale 'Gabrielle de Bergerac' seeming a failure once he experienced actual Europe - in both cases one's imagined sense of Italy differs to its reality. However, as will be seen, James uses the association of the city with the tale in a slightly different format.

Howells also wrote a number of short stories for the *Atlantic*, including 'Tonelli's Marriage', a tale about an elder Venetian gentleman whose unexpected marriage unsettles the lives of his closest friends.⁹⁵ Compared to James' tales set in Italy, there are two notable differences; Howells is far more interested in the politics of the country - there are a number of references to the Austrian occupation of Venice - and makes virtually no use of Venice's wealth of art and architecture to give the tale cultural flavour. This marked absence of cultural reference contrasts with James' heavy use of references to paintings in 'Travelling Companions'. Despite the obvious difference that James is writing about tourists, while Howells was writing about native Venetians, this contrast with James' way of approaching Italy can also be found in another tale from the magazine. 'A Venetian Experience' was written by an unnamed author, and tells the story of a female American tourist's acquaintance with her gondolier, Antonio, and the object of his affections.⁹⁶ Much like Howells' tale, it also shows a strong awareness of the political tensions of Venice; Antonio's love rival is an Austrian soldier, and he eventually goes off to 'fight for his fatherland'.⁹⁷ It is particularly notable that in the opening scenes, the narrator's husband warns her against discussing politics with the locals for fear of her 'get[ting] into trouble' (AVE, 676). James' own Venetian tale sets itself against these other tales by concerning itself solely with American tourists abroad; as will be seen, the locals are kept at a distance so that they are relegated to playing a largely aesthetic role in the tale.

However, James was not the first writer for the *Atlantic* to deal with the theme of tourists in Italy falling in love. Although Mott identifies Howells' publication of Charles Reade's *Griffith Gaunt* in 1865 as 'the *Atlantic*'s first English serial' (Mott2, 508), the first English serialisation had actually

⁹⁵ William Dean Howells, 'Tonelli's Marriage', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 22, Issue 129 (July 1868), 96-110.

⁹⁶ It is unclear whether the piece of writing is actually fact or fiction - it reads as a travelogue, but the 'plot' of it seems too neat to be straightforward journalism. This ambiguous genre mixing was something James was to play with himself the next year in 'At Isella'.

⁹⁷ Anon, 'A Venetian Experience', in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 19, Issue 116 (June 1867), 674-685, 683, hereafter AVE.

been Arthur Hugh Clough's *Amours de Voyage*, his novel in verse, written in 1849, and serialised in the *Atlantic* between February and May 1858. This was published long before James' writing of a tale based on the same premise of tourists falling in love on the Grand Tour, so it would be a stretch to say that James was deliberately writing the tale with its publication in the magazine in mind; the fact of its being published in the *Atlantic* should be considered coincidence. Yet the similarities between the tale and poem are notable enough to think of it as one of James' influences.⁹⁸ Later in a letter to his father in 1872, he was to quote the poem, writing that the letter 'was writ in a Roman Chamber', indicating a familiarity with the poem (*CL1872-76:1*, 162). The plots of the poem and tale both follow the romantic entanglements of two young tourists on the Grand Tour. But as with Howells' tales of the time, Clough uses much of the poem to deal with the political contexts in which he is writing; the poem is based around his own experiences during the siege of the Roman Republic by the French in 1849.⁹⁹ As I have previously remarked, James shows no explicit interest in the political conflicts going on around him or his characters. His main focus is on exploring the role culture plays in the tourists' perceptions of the people around them.

There was also a wealth of articles on Italian art and more general art criticism in the *Atlantic*. James seems to have taken material from some anecdotally, whilst others seem to have made a more significant impact on the structure and approach of the tale. An 1867 *Atlantic* review of a travel guide by a rival publisher, *Harper's Handbook for Travellers in Europe and the East*, mocks it for its inaccuracies and the author's 'flower[s] of fancy or rhetoric'.¹⁰⁰ The reviewer tells of the embarrassment the handbook causes in Italy, where fellow tourists, who 'are using Murray or some French guide [...] look askance at the handsome morocco cover of the work which the doctor is always reading and quoting' (*R:HEE*, 381). The reviewer emphasises the handbook's clichés, which are quoted at length, most notably regarding Da Vinci's *Cenacolo*: "'Many a tear has been shed by travellers while viewing this lovely, yet sad composition'" (*R:HEE*, 383). There is an echo of this in

⁹⁸ See also Philip Horne's discussion on James in relation to Clough, which briefly explores 'Travelling Companions' in this context. Philip Horne, 'Clough, James, and *Amours de Voyage*: A Juxtaposition', in *Literary Imagination*, Vol. 15, Issue 1 (2013), 89-104, 100-102.

⁹⁹ Anon, 'Clough and the Roman Republic of 1849', in *Amours de Voyage* (London: Persephone Books, 2009), 85-91.

¹⁰⁰ Anon, 'Reviews and Notices: *Harper's Handbook for Travellers in Europe and the Far East*', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 19, Issue 113 (March 1867), 380-383, 382, hereafter *R:HEE*.

James' Mr. Brooke fancying tears in the eyes of Miss Evans as she views the painting, as I will discuss in further detail later.

Likewise, there are two articles regarding the issue of fake paintings that are of relevance to Mr. Brooke's account of a fake Correggio he purchases. In 1860, an article entitled 'Italian Experiences in Collecting "Old Masters"' related the types of cons utilised by Italians to fleece unsuspecting art collectors, most notably 'a sad tale of family distress requiring the sacrifice of long-cherished treasures.'¹⁰¹ This is exactly what happens to Mr. Brooke, so a long-term reader of the *Atlantic* might well have remembered this article when reading the tale.¹⁰² More contemporaneous with the tale was John Neal's article 'Our Painters' of March 1869, in which Neal writes of being able to assert that the painting of *Christ in the Garden* in the National Gallery of London was not in fact by Correggio, but simply attributed to him. Neal writes that he 'had the satisfaction of seeing that very picture taken down from the walls, and utterly discarded for imposture', before being replaced by another 'which was truly a Correggio, The Mother and Child, one of the most beautiful things ever painted by mortal man'.¹⁰³ It is likely that this anecdote was a source for James' account of Mr. Brooke buying a fake Correggio.

Foremost amongst writers about art in the *Atlantic* was the painter and part-time critic Eugene Benson, who, as noted previously, had written articles comparing the works of Ruskin and Taine (see p. 48). James showed an awareness of his written work when he wrote to his brother William in 1869 that his review of Mill 'seemed to me (save the opening lines which savoured faintly of Eugene Benson) very well & fluently written' (*CL1855-72:2*, 167), indicating he had reservations about Benson's writing. However Benson writes of many subjects that James touches on in 'Travelling Companions', as when Mr. Brooke asks what is more moving to Miss Evans about a Tintoretto painting, 'the painter or the subject?' (TC, 206). Her response that it is the 'subject', implying the literary aspect of it, is suggestive of one of Benson's articles, entitled 'Old Masters in

¹⁰¹ Anon, 'Italian Experiences in Collecting "Old Masters"', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 6, Issue 37 (Nov. 1860), 578-587, 580.

¹⁰² Since James was in France with his family at this time, it's unknown if he read this issue, whereas he frequently refers to receiving the 1869 issues of the *Atlantic* in his letters.

¹⁰³ John Neal, 'Our Painters', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 23, Issue 137 (March 1869), 337-347, 340.

the Louvre, and Modern Art'. In this, Benson discusses Paolo Veronese's *Marriage at Cana*, noting that '[i]t is [...] a painter's picture. It has no literary element. [...] Nearly all famous modern pictures, outside of landscape art, have the literary element. They appeal to the literary mind; they are like pieces out of a story. [...Veronese's work] is simply a collection of portraits.'¹⁰⁴ James' use of Miss Evans' frequent engagement with literature about Italy, and concentration on the narrative elements of paintings perhaps stems from this article.

James' most notable engagement with Benson's ideas seems to occur when Benson writes about the differences in the way Taine and Ruskin approach art:

The fact is, Ruskin's is a feminine mind, and could not be kept close to his subject. [...] Taine examines and discusses art with a masculine and emancipated mind. The masculine and emancipated mind is *prosaic*, without charm, runs over every subject very much like a well-kept highway over a beautiful country. The *poetry*, the obscurity, the reference to the holy and pure, which makes so great a part of the eloquence and incongruity of Ruskin's writings, is not in Taine.¹⁰⁵

The gendered way in which Benson contrasts the approaches of the two writers is worth noting in light of 'Travelling Companions', since James has a male and a female character represent the two ways of viewing Italian culture. But James turns Benson's idea on its head. The 'feminine mind' of Ruskin is a more fitting description of Mr. Brooke's attitude to art, whilst Miss Evans occupies the role of the 'masculine' Taine, prosaic and rational. Broadly speaking, this shows that they have common ground in their approach to Italy; they both perceive Italy based on their reading about it. It is the nature of the material they read that shows where the differences in their perceptions arise. Mr. Brooke has read Ruskin and Stendhal – both "passionate" writers according to Benson – whilst Miss Evans reads George Sand and Nathaniel Hawthorne – both writers of comparatively serious moral tales. Benson had noted in the *Galaxy* that the texture of Hawthorne's stories is generally

¹⁰⁴ Eugene Benson, 'The Old Masters in the Louvre, and Modern Art', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 21, Issue 123 (Jan. 1868), 111-118, 117.

¹⁰⁵ Eugene Benson, 'French and English Art-Writers', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 24, Issue 141 (July 1869), 119-125, 122-3, emphasis my own.

¹⁰⁶ Eugene Benson, 'Poe and Hawthorne', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 6, Issue 6 (Dec 1868), 742-747, 742.

‘woven about a question of moral responsibility’.¹⁰⁶ The following section will explore how James establishes this way of perceiving Italy – an approach derived from Ruskin and Taine.

Shared Perceptions of the Southern Spirit and the Picturesque

As discussed in the previous chapter, James engaged with Taine and Ruskin’s ideas about there being a Southern “difference” in both his letters and his fiction. The title of ‘Travelling Companions’ is in itself an echo of one of James’ own phrases which he used to describe Taine’s approach to art criticism; in the *Nation*, he had written that the theory of *le race, le milieu, le moment* ‘makes incomparable observers, and that in choosing a *travelling companion* [the reader] cannot do better than to take him from the school of M. Taine.’¹⁰⁷ This theory built on Ruskin’s assertions about the differences between Southern and Northern European architecture two decades earlier in *Stones of Venice*. James establishes Mr. Brooke in this role of the observer who follows this school of thought, a point that is emphasised by Brooke’s reference to the difference between Northern and Southern European climate and culture: ‘I rather enjoyed the heat; it seemed to my Northern senses to deepen the Italian, the Southern, the local character of things’ (TC, 175, 181). The coverage of the two critics in the *Atlantic* would likely have been sufficient for a reader to recognise James was alluding to them.

In alluding to these ideas that climate affects a country’s cultural character, Mr. Brooke places himself in the role of the culturally informed observer, using the idea that men and women are products of their environment as a way of understanding their moral behaviour and cultural output. Therefore his observations of Italy’s culture and people are coloured by this perception of the country’s geography. As discussed earlier, he describes his first experience of Italy as if he has realised a long-imagined dream: ‘Imagination, panting and exhausted, withdrew from the game; and

¹⁰⁷ Henry James, ‘Review of Taine’s *Italy: Rome and Naples*’, in *Nation* (May 7th 1868), repr. in *Literary Criticism: French Writers, Other European Writers, The Prefaces to the New York Edition* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 826-31, 829-30. This is a different opinion from that of the reviewer in the *Atlantic*, who described the book as ‘singularly untouristic’ (see p. 49). Adeline Tintner has also suggested that the phrase comes from ‘a phrase in [Baroness Tautphoeus] *The Initials* as well as from Goethe’s *Italienische Reise*’. Adeline Tintner, *The Pop World of Henry James* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 158.

Observation stepped into her place, trembling and glowing with open-eyed desire' (TC, 175).

However, despite initially relying on observation, being in the limited position of the tourist – an outsider to Italian life – means that Mr. Brooke also needs to attribute imagined characteristics to the people he encounters, both Italian and Anglo-Saxon; his 'perception seemed for the first time to live a sturdy *creative* life of its own' (TC, 184, emphasis my own). Miss Evans shares this approach, as is shown in the way they discuss the country and its native population.

Atop Milan Cathedral, they discuss their first impressions of Italy. Mr Brooke shows a tendency towards romanticisation of the landscape in his descriptions:

The view from this spot is beyond all words, especially the view toward the long mountain line which shuts out the North. [...] To the south the long shadows fused and multiplied, and the bosky Lombard flats melted away into perfect Italy. The prospect offers a great emotion to the Northern traveler (TC, 179).

He goes on to discuss Monte Rosa with Miss Evans, who evidently shares in his perception of this cultural divide when she speaks of it without his having prompted her: "[...Monte Rosa] represents the genius of the North. There she stands, frozen and fixed, resting her head upon that mountain wall, looking over at this lovely southern world and yearning towards it forever in vain" (TC, 180). She goes on to say "[t]his is not America [...] I should like to think I might become for a while a creature of Italy", to which Mr. Brooke responds "I strongly suspect, [...] that you are an American to the depths of your soul, and that you'll never be anything else" (TC, 180), reminding her of her position as a tourist. Mr. Brooke repeatedly emphasises the fact they are in a different part of the world from America or even the rest of Europe: '[h]ow it all wasn't Germany! how it couldn't have been Araminta, New York! "It's the South, the South." I kept repeating – "the South in nature, in man, in manners"' (TC, 181). To any reader familiar with the writings of Taine and Ruskin, or even aware of writings about Taine in the *Atlantic*, these allusions to the geographical differences, and therefore the social and cultural contrasts brought about by it, would have been a direct allusion to the two art-critics' perception of Italy. It allows James to subsequently develop his emphasis on the difference between the two characters' approaches to art and literature.

Once they have had their fill of the transalpine view, they descend into the interior of the cathedral, where they manifest the same approach in observing the women of the city in their mantillas, wondering 'what horrible old-world sorrows and fears and remorse[s] they cover' (TC, 182). One of them approaches Miss Evans, and tells her rather mysteriously that she 'devoutly hope[s] you may never have to pray such bitter, bitter prayers as mine' (TC, 183), before going on her way. This slightly bizarre encounter provides the reader with an insight into the way Italians appear on the Grand Tour for James' characters in these tales; they observe them, and any encounter beyond the visual seems to fulfill the role they want them to play. In this case, the Italian woman serves as an example of the sadness behind the beauty of the old world: "'Monte Rosa [...] was the genius of the North. This poor woman is the genius of the Picturesque. She shows us the essential misery that lies behind it'" (TC, 183). Here the reader is meant to focus on the idea of the woman being 'picturesque' and fitting into the American tourist's perception of how Italy operates as a country. Her speech only serves to emphasise this; exaggerating the Catholic notion of suffering and guilt, to contrast it with the comparative absence of this to be found in Anglo-Saxon Protestantism.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, other encounters with Italians in the tale are used either to provide Americans with aesthetic colouring for a scene, or to act as a way for them to compare their own appearance with that of the natives. For example, when Mr. Brooke describes 'a group of young Venetian gentlemen, splendid in dress, after the manner of their kind, and glorious with the wondrous physical glory of the Italian race', he comments '[t]hey only need velvet and satin and plumes [...] to be subjects for Titian and Veronese' (TC, 195). Viewing these real people as being akin to the subjects of paintings demonstrates just how linked his perception of people and visual culture is. The reference to Titian and Veronese, both Venetian artists, reminds the reader that their paintings would have depicted portraits of similar members of Venetian society some generations earlier.

At Padua Mr. Brooke and Miss Evans observe an Italian couple in the church of St Anthony. Before they see them, Mr. Brooke has just observed 'what a different thing this visiting of churches would be for us, if we occasionally felt the prompting to fall on our knees', drawing attention to his and

¹⁰⁸ For more on James' treatment of Catholicism in this tale, see Jeff Staiger, 'The Fall as Conversion: Catholicism and the American Girl in James's "Travelling Companions"', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 18, Issue 2 (1997), 127-139, hereafter Staiger.

Miss Evans' role as Protestant tourists. Mr. Brooke describes the Italians as being 'a young woman of the middle class and a man of her own rank, some ten years older, dressed with a good deal of cheap elegance' (TC, 208). The reader of the tale who had also read Taine would here think of his assertion that in Italy, 'everything is sacrificed to appearances. The streets and the *Pincio* swarm with women in handsome velvet mantillas and young people well gloved and frizzled, bright, showy, and spruce outside – but do not look beyond'.¹⁰⁹ The two Americans try to guess what lies beyond their 'vulgar' appearance, interpreting the Italian man's '[falling] back a few steps, and [standing] gazing idly at the chapel' as a sign that 'she believes, he doubts', according to Miss Evans (TC, 208). Mr. Brooke however, decides that 'he doesn't look like a doubter', and is apparently vindicated when the fellow returns to kneel beside his partner and pray, observing 'we, I think, are rather vulgar beside them' (TC, 208).

The encounter highlights the stark contrast between how the Italian native and the Anglo-Saxon tourist make use of the church space. For the reader of the tale, the Italian couple serve to remind them that these tourist spaces also serve a devotional purpose. For Mr. Brooke and Miss Evans, they provide local social colour that they can observe and share ideas about. In this regard, their attitudes to Italy do not seem to differ particularly strongly – although the difference in how they perceive the man acts as a precursor to how they misread one another. Miss Evans seems to be more outraged that the Italian fellow does not pray – seeing him stand back whilst his companion prays is to her evidence that he 'doubts'; whilst to Mr. Brooke, he is simply 'a vulgar fellow' (TC, 208). By saying he doubts, Miss Evans has created a narrative out of the scene here that reflects on the morality of the man, whilst Mr. Brooke, in calling him vulgar, merely focuses on his appearance. This difference is subtle, but notable in the wider context of the tale. When they come to discuss art and literature in ways that relate to their perceptions of one another, their differences in approaches to culture are more pronounced. First I will look at Mr. Brooke's perceptions of Miss Evans, then Miss Evans' perceptions of him.

Mr. Brooke: Ruskin and Murray

¹⁰⁹ Hippolyte Taine, *Italy: Naples and Rome*, trans. by J. Durand (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1871), 276.

There is truth in both Maves' and Buzard's claims that Mr. Brooke embodies James' own point of view regarding Italy and Italian culture. The opening lines of the tale, where Mr. Brooke describes his impression of *The Last Supper* by Leonardo da Vinci, (fig. 10) borrows much of James' own phrasing regarding the painting when he wrote home to his mother in 1869 regarding his reliance on Murray. The letter's description of the painting as 'horribly decayed – but sublime in its ruins' (CL1855-72: 2, 96), becomes 'the very completeness of its decay' (TC, 171). Yet James is not regarding the painting with a particularly original eye; much of the section of Murray devoted to the painting discusses its condition: 'this is, perhaps, the last generation whose eyes will behold its beauties, even yet so transcendent in their irreparable decay.'¹¹⁰

The connection between Mr. Brooke's perception of art and people is made clear in this opening scene. Describing the composition of the painting, he observes that '[f]rom the beautiful central image of Christ I perceived its radiation right and left along the sadly broken line of the disciples. One by one, out of the depths of their grim dismemberment, the figures trembled into meaning and life, and the vast, serious beauty of the work stood revealed' (TC, 172).¹¹¹ His ability to read the 'emotion' in the painting is echoed in his observation of Miss Evans, who is standing in front of him looking at the image of Christ, comparing the original image to a photograph:

Her eyes then for the first time met my own. They were deep and dark and luminous, – I fancied streaming with tears. I watched her as she returned to the table. Her walk seemed to me peculiarly graceful; light, and rapid, and yet full of decision and dignity. A thrill of delight passed through my heart as I guessed at her moistened lids. "Sweet fellow-countrywoman," I cried in silence, "you have the divine gift of feeling." And I returned to the fresco with a deepened sense of virtue (TC, 175).

The emphasis on his 'fancying' her tears, and 'guessing' at her moistened lids makes it clear that she may not actually be in tears, but that he perceives her to be as moved by the work of art as he is. Yet

¹¹⁰ John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (London: John Murray, 1869), 203.

¹¹¹ This was written before the painting was restored in the twentieth century, hence the references to its broken line. For more on the restorations of the painting, see Pinin Brambilla Barcilon, 'The Restoration', in *Leonardo: The Last Supper*, trans. by Harlow Tighe (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 328-430.



(fig. 10) Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper* (1495-1498), Convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan.

in emphasising Brooke's impression of her having the 'divine gift of feeling', James is possibly ironising his reaction. This is a plausible explanation when one considers how commonplace the act of crying in front of the painting seemed to be according to the author of *Harper's Handbook for Europe and the Far East*, as described in the *Atlantic's* review. However, when coupled with Mr. Brooke's observation of her attire, his imagining her crying tells a slightly different story.

His first impression of her, before they have spoken, betrays his emphasis on perceiving things based on the way they appear, and also reveals a key aspect of Miss Evans' story. He describes her as being 'of middle stature, with a charming slender figure. Her hair was brown, her complexion fresh and clear. She wore a white pique dress and a black lace shawl, and on her thick braids a hat with a purple feather. She was largely characterised by that physical delicacy and that personal elegance (each of them sometimes excessive) which seldom fail to betray my young countrywomen in Europe' (TC, 173). It is notable that he is able to tell she is American simply based on her dress. The emphasis on the colour of her dress might not seem particularly notable to a modern reader, but to an American nineteenth-century readership, the colour purple was associated with the costume a woman would wear after her first year in mourning. In *Dressed for the Photographer*, Joan Severna quotes an excerpt from *Godey's* magazine from August 1861 which states that "[i]n mourning, the distinguishing feature is a mixture of clear white with black; mauve and royal purple continue to be mingled with black also."¹¹² By 1873, the same magazine was writing that '[f]or light mourning, it is now unnecessary to give any hints. We may, however, now say that purple is not now worn, black, white, and gray being more fashionable' (DFTP, 304). Since it appears that purple was on its way "out", the small touches of purple that Mr. Brooke refers to are a hint at Miss Evans being in mourning, as he repeatedly picks up on her wearing this colour. The strict dress codes of the time mean it would be clear to Mr. Brooke, and presumably a contemporary readership, that Miss Evans had lost somebody close to her. In this light, his attributing feelings to her as she views *The Last Supper* has more resonance than is immediately apparent, but also shows a

¹¹² Joan Severna, *Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840-1900* (Kent, Ohio: University of Kent Press, 1995), 204, hereafter DFTP. *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830-1898) was one of the most popular magazines for women at the time: '[t]he stories and poems were read and re-read and cried over; the fashions were studied and copied, the engravings were cut out and framed, and the editor's advice was considered the final pronouncement'. Frank Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Vol. 1 1741-1850* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1957), 580.

difference in the way they view the painting – he looks at the artist’s power; she the painting’s subject matter.

After their encounter in Milan Cathedral, Mr. Brooke leaves for a tour of the towns and cities between there and Venice, where Miss Evans has gone directly. He stops one night in Vicenza, where he enjoys ‘looking at Palladio’s palaces and enjoying them in defiance of reason and Ruskin’ (TC, 186); a direct reference to Mr. Brooke’s main cultural authority and another echo of James’ own experience of Italy. In *The Museum World of Henry James*, Adeline Tintner writes that in ‘Travelling Companions’, ‘the guide to the enjoyment of pictures was Ruskin’, emphasising Ruskin’s role in James’ early understanding of Italy.¹¹³ As described earlier, James had written to his brother that upon seeing Palladio’s palaces, ‘I enjoyed them vastly, but since coming here [to Venice] & getting hold of a vol. of Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice*, I find he pronounces Palladio infamous & I must blot out that shameful day’ (CL1855-72:2, 105). Ruskin hadn’t used the word ‘infamous’ specifically in the third volume of *Stones of Venice*, which James is referring to. Yet he certainly didn’t restrain himself from voicing contempt of Palladio’s works, writing that ‘it is impossible to conceive a design more gross, more barbarous, more childish in conception, more servile in plagiarism, more insipid in result, more contemptible under every point of regard.’¹¹⁴ In referencing Ruskin, James is signalling to his readers where Brooke’s perception of the paintings he encounters comes from; Ruskin had discussed the majority of them in his books.

In Vicenza Mr. Brooke meets a young Italian painter who claims to have a painting by Correggio for sale, which turns out to be a fake. James had seen Correggio’s works in Parma, of which he wrote that:

Parma was his lifelong residence & possesses some of his best works – tho’ they are very few in number. He had a most divine touch – & seems to have been a sort of sentimental Leonardo – setting Leonardo down as “intellectual”. A couple of his masterpieces at Parma perfectly reek with loveliness. A little infant Christ in one of

¹¹³ Adeline Tintner, *The Museum World of Henry James* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 229, hereafter *MWHJ*.

¹¹⁴ John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice: Vol. 3* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1853), 301.

them diffuses a holiness fit to convince unbelievers & confound blasphemers.

(CL1855-72: 2, 129)

James emphasises the 'sentimentality' of the paintings, opposing it to Leonardo's 'intellectuality'. Mr. Brooke's tendency towards the passionate in art makes Correggio a good choice for James to use here. Tintner explains that 'the excessive sensuality combined with a magical technique of rendering flesh satisfied the desires for pictorial sensuality kept within the limits of mythological and religious subjects' (MWHJ, 61). Correggio was viewed as fairly risqué in the nineteenth century, particularly by Ruskin, who, in *Modern Painters* condemned paintings that contained 'that second destroyer of ideal form, the appearance of sensual character'.¹¹⁵ He wrote of Correggio as being 'of inherent sensuality, wrought out with attractive and luscious refinement, and that alike in all subjects' (MP:2, 135). Taine, on the other hand, had praised Correggio's sensuality as his very strength; he wrote that 'the cult of feminine grace, at one time sportive and pretty, at another genial and penetrating, infinite in subtle and complex charms, alone capable of absorbing hearts to which action was interdicted, appearing in Correggio like the softened glow of a flower blooming too early then fading'.¹¹⁶

This emphasis on the sensual aspects of Correggio's paintings is alluded to in Mr. Brooke's description of the painting:

It represented in simple composition a Madonna and Child; the mother facing you, pressing the infant to her bosom, faintly smiling and looking out of the picture with a solemn sweetness. It was pretty, it was good; but it was not Correggio. There was indeed a certain suggestion of his exquisite touch; but it was a likeness merely, and not the precious reality. One fact, however, struck swiftly home in my consciousness: the face of the Madonna bore a singular resemblance to that of Miss Evans. The lines, the character, the expression, were the same; the faint half-thoughtful smile was hers, the feminine frankness and gentle confidence of the brow, from which the dark hair waved back with the same even abundance. All this, in the Madonna's face, was meant for

¹¹⁵ John Ruskin, *Modern Painters: Vol. 2* (London: Blackfriars Publishing Co., [n.d.]), 133, hereafter MP:[Vol. No.].

¹¹⁶ Hippolyte Taine, *Italy: Florence and Venice*, trans. by J. Durand (New York: Holt & Williams, 1869), 357-8.

heaven; and on Miss Evans's in a fair degree, probably for earth. But the mutual likeness was, nevertheless, perfect, and it quickened my interest in the picture to a point which the intrinsic merit of the work would doubtless have failed to justify (TC, 188).

The association of the painting with Miss Evans shows how he connects culture and character here. On the surface, the image represented serves as a symbol of the purity and chastity of the Virgin Mary, and Mr. Brooke certainly seems to think of Miss Evans as pure. Yet the details in the description of the image, particularly in relation to the way Correggio was thought of at the time, betray a possibly sexual motive behind his desire to purchase the painting.

The probable inspiration for James' description is a painting from the school of Correggio, *Madonna of Albinea* (fig. 11), which James had no doubt seen at the Gallery in Parma. In both this painting and the one described in the tale, the Madonna looks directly at the spectator. In Correggio's oeuvre, there is not a single painting of the Madonna that holds the viewer's gaze – she is nearly always in contemplation of the baby Jesus, although other characters in the painting often connected with the viewer in this way, as shown in the example described earlier by Taine, *Rest on the Flight to Egypt with Saint Francis* (I:FV, 357, fig. 12). However, there is a painting by Correggio depicting *Mary Magdalene* in the National Gallery in London (fig. 13), where she is staring directly at the viewer. In Correggio's oeuvre, then, the prostitute holds the viewer's gaze, whilst the chaste Madonna contemplates her son. Mr. Brooke goes on to make a generous offer on the painting, solely because of its likeness to Miss Evans. The set-up of the deal is reminiscent of the situation described in the *Atlantic Monthly* of a 'sad tale of family distress' (IECOM, 580); the painting is being sold to help the family's sick daughter, who has dreamt that 'the Madonna was gone, but in its place there burned a bright pure light. It was a purse of gold!' (TC, 190). The encounter seems too absurd to be real, and raises the question of whether or not Mr. Brooke is being duped. This was a question James was to return to later in his next tale, 'At Isella', but here, as there, the tourist seems happy to help locals who are apparently in need. But the purchase of the painting serves a selfish purpose here, as it allows him to metaphorically "purchase" Miss Evans. When he tells her that he bought a painting of her 'because the Madonna looked singularly like you', she tells him 'I'm sorry [...] you hadn't a better reason. I hope the picture was cheap' (TC, 202). This emphasises his tendency



(fig. 11), School of Correggio, *The Madonna of Albinea* (1517-1519), National Gallery, Parma.



(fig. 12), Antonio da Correggio, *Rest on the Flight to Egypt with Saint Francis* (1520), Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



(fig. 13), Antonio da Correggio, *Mary Magdalene* (1518-1519), National Gallery, London.

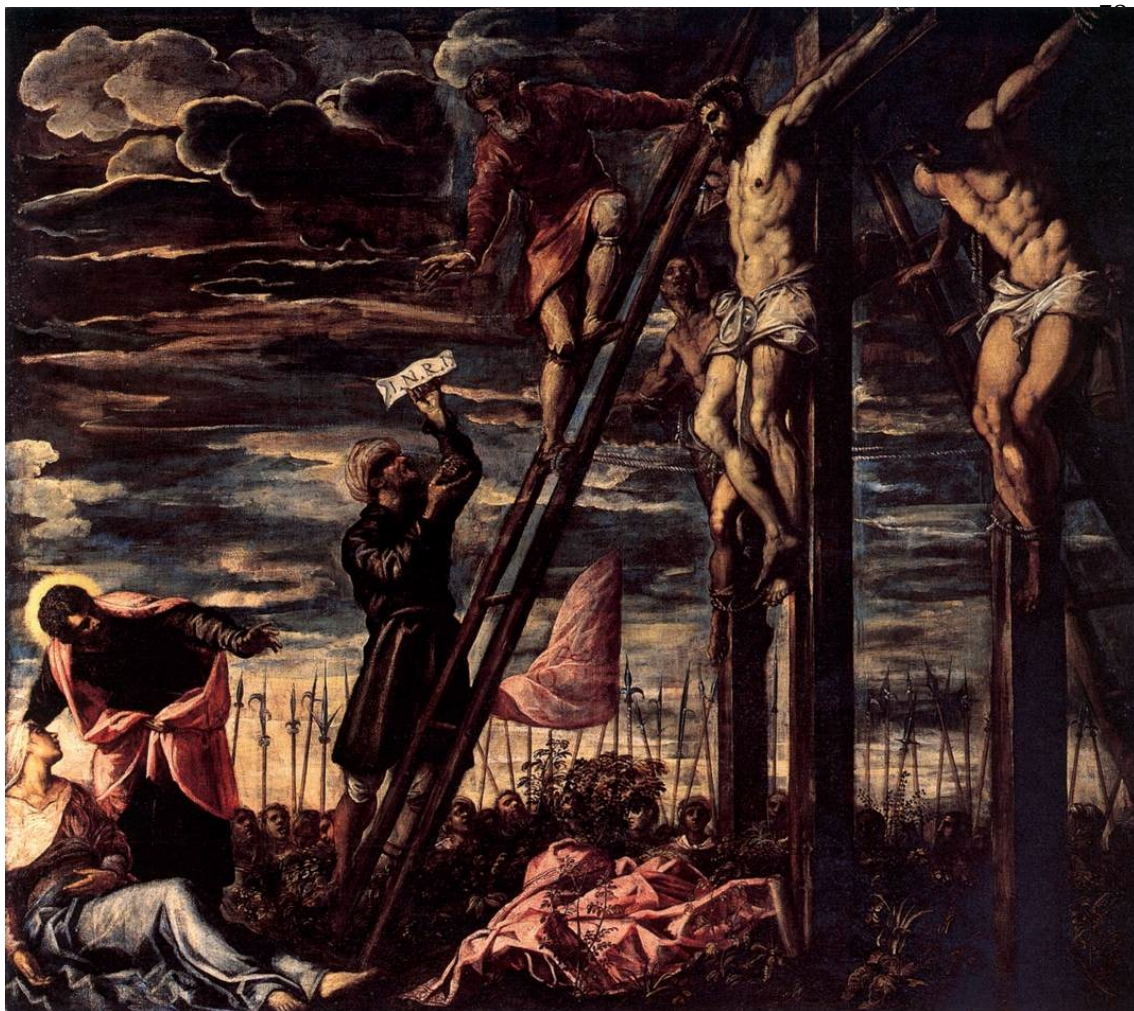
towards romance, whilst her reaction is more Protestant, rational and practical.

After purchasing the painting, Mr. Brooke next encounters Miss Evans in the church of St. Mark's; the cultural heart of Venice. There is a distinct similarity between Mr. Brooke's observation of her here and when he first saw her in Milan: 'Kneeling on a low *prie-dieu*, with her hands clasped, a lady was gazing upward at the great mosaic Christ in the dome of the choir. She wore a black lace shawl and a purple hat. She was Miss Evans' (TC, 193). Once again, she is seen in her mourning dress in front of an image of Christ, emphasising the association between them. The association of Miss Evans with images of Christ's martyrdom reaches its height when Mr. Brooke takes her to see Tintoretto's *Crucifixion* in the church of San Cassiano (fig. 14). He compares it to the more famous one at the Scuola di San Rocco, calling that one 'larger and more complex [...] the one of which I speak is small, simple, and sublime' (TC, 205, fig. 15). The San Rocco painting is a large mural, densely filled with characters from the biblical narrative, whilst in contrast, the San Cassiano painting is sparsely populated, and obscurely positioned to the left hand side of the altar of the church.

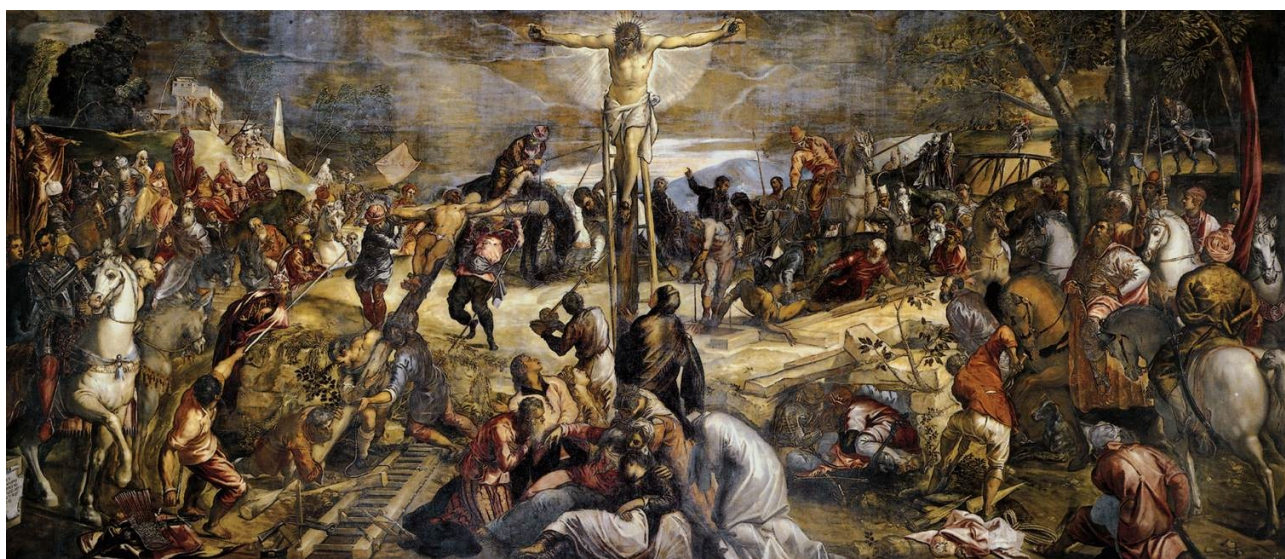
Whilst none of James' American contemporaries make mention of the church or the painting, Ruskin had written in the Venetian Index to *Stones of Venice* that the church 'must on no account be missed, as it contains three Tintorets, of which one, the "Crucifixion" is among the finest in Europe' (*SoV*, 289). This, along with the similarities between the two writers' descriptions of the painting, creates a connection between Mr. Brooke's conception of what constitutes "good" art, and Ruskin's. Mr. Brooke writes of the composition that:

The picture offers to our sight the very central essence of the great tragedy which it depicts. There is no swooning Madonna, no consoling Magdalen, no mockery of contrast, no cruelty of an assembled host. [...] The reality of the picture is beyond all words: it is hard to say which is more impressive, the naked horror of the fact represented, or the sensible power of the artist. You breathe a silent prayer of thanks that you, for your part, are without the terrible clairvoyance of genius (TC, 205-6).

Mr. Brooke's perception of the painting is, again, based on his admiration for the 'genius' involved in creating it. Ruskin similarly praises Tintoretto for his skill, saying that it is 'most remarkable for its



(fig. 14) Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Crucifixion of Christ* (1568), San Cassiano, Venice.



(fig. 15) Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Crucifixion* (1565), Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice.

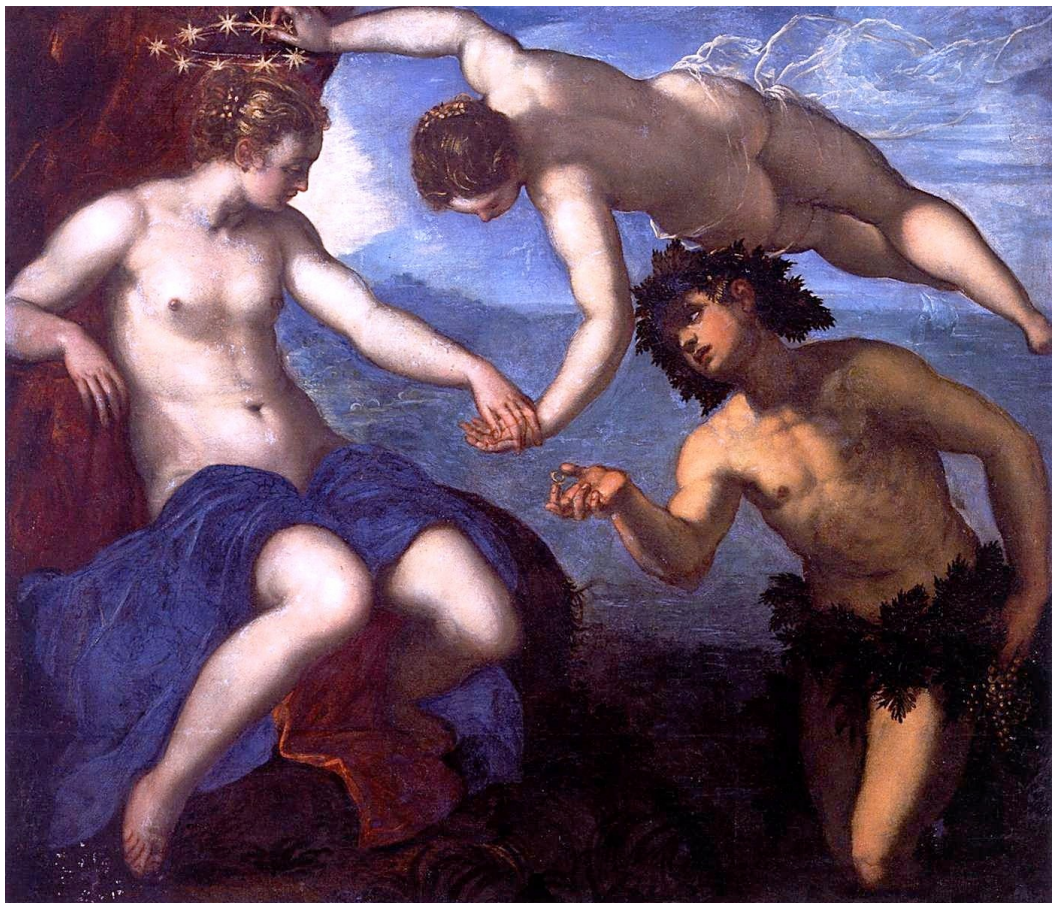
new and strange treatment of the subject. It seems to have been painted more for the artist's own delight, than with any laboured attempt at composition' (*SoV*, 289).

At this point we are given a perspective on the way Miss Evans perceives art. Brooke describes her as 'pale, motionless, oppressed, she evidently felt with poignant sympathy the commanding force of the work [...] she rose to her feet and turned her face upon me, illumined with a vivid ecstasy of pity. Then passing me rapidly, she descended into the aisle of the church, dropped into a chair, and, burying her face in her hands, burst into an agony of sobs' (TC, 206). It is worth noting that this is the first time in the tale Miss Evans has looked at an image of the crucifixion. Miss Evans' strong emotional response is clearly not because she is moved by Tintoretto's artistic talent as such, as Mr. Brooke discovers when, as quoted earlier, he asks her 'what is it here [...] that has moved you most, the painter or the subject?' (TC, 206). She responds that it is 'the subject'; i.e. the narrative. Mr. Brooke says that for him, he is 'afraid it's the painter' (TC, 206); firmly placing him in the role of the Ruskinian tourist, appreciating art for its creator's talent and skill. The painting's sparse composition emphasises the narrative being portrayed, and gives the reader an insight as to how it acts as a catalyst for her tears. The reason she finds the image so moving is revealed later in the tale, when the pair visit Padua together. Mr. Brooke relates that 'she spoke of having been engaged, and of having lost her betrothed in the Civil War. She made no story of it; but I felt from her words that she had tasted of sorrow' (TC, 211). Once the reader finds this out, her association with the images of Christ becomes clear; she seems likely to be equating the martyrdom of Christ with that of her dead soldier. Mr. Brooke's comment on the lack of a 'swooning Madonna' in the Tintoretto painting is worth noting, as Miss Evans herself now fulfils this role of the mourner.

To calm Miss Evans, Mr. Brooke takes her to the Ducal Palace to look at Paolo Veronese's *Rape of Europa* (fig. 16). Tintner compares the tale to *The American*, writing that in both tales 'great art helps solve a moral problem' (*MWHJ*, 58-9), and this is a case in point, an image of the classical world being a perfect antidote to the Christian painting she finds so unsettling. Contemporary readers would again recognise that Mr. Brooke derives much of his appreciation of art from Ruskin, who describes it in the Venetian Index as being '[o]ne of the very few paintings which both possesses, and deserves, a high reputation' (*SoV*, 297). Yet his choice of Veronese's *Europa* painting



(fig. 16) Paolo Veronese, *The Rape of Europa* (c. 1578), Ducal Palace, Venice.



(fig. 17) Jacopo Tintoretto, *Bacchus and Ariadne* (1578), Ducal Palace, Venice.

has another important aspect; there are three different images in the painting of Europa being carried away on the bovine Zeus' back – emphasising the narrative being portrayed. Mr. Brooke comments that the image 'makes one think more agreeably of life [...] that such visions have blessed the eyes of men of mortal mould. What has been may be again. We may yet dream as brightly, and some few of us translate our dreams as freely' (TC, 206-7), drawing attention again, to Veronese's artistic power. Miss Evans responds that she thinks that Tintoretto's *Bacchus and Ariadne* 'is the brighter dream of the two' (TC, 207, fig. 17). Mr. Brooke assumes she is speaking of the composition, but when one considers the myth of Bacchus and Ariadne, the painting has a more distinct symbolism for Miss Evans. In the myth, Ariadne is abandoned by her mortal lover Theseus and then wooed by the god Dionysus, who marries her and bestows immortality upon her. Murray's *Handbook* refers to the painting as 'Ariadne crowned by Venus' (MHNI, 398), omitting the masculine element of the painting, whilst Mr. Brooke's description of it includes Bacchus. In the tale, Mr. Brooke fills the role of Dionysus, giving Miss Evans, "abandoned" by her fiancé, a renewed opportunity to love. In this context, her preference for this painting seems less based on the artistry of the paintings, as Mr. Brooke assumes she means, and more on the narratives they portray.

This series of encounters serves to make clear that Miss Evans' focus is on the subject matter, and therefore the narrative, of paintings that she sees. This focus on the narrative of the paintings and connecting the image to real life is echoed in her allusions to narrative fiction elsewhere in the tale. Through her focus on equating literature to real life, she appears to draw analogies between the books she reads and what happens to her, and as a result, misreads Mr. Brooke's intentions. This seems to be where much of the confusion in their love affair arises. The rest of this chapter will focus on Miss Evans' perceptions of Mr. Brooke, as revealed by the novels she alludes to reading.

Miss Evans: Literary Approaches

When they meet each other in St. Marks, Miss Evans says she has been 'reading two or three volumes of George Sand's novels. Do you know *La Dernière Aldini*? I fancy a romance in every palace' (TC, 194). George Sand wrote *La Dernière Aldini* or *The Last Aldini* in 1838. It was translated into English in 1847 by Miranda Hayes and published in America, where it was a popular success,

and cheap editions of it were still being printed at the time James was writing. One paperback edition, published by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, and priced at fifty cents, features an engraving of her portrait on the cover, along with the tagline “‘The Last Aldini by George Sand’ is a book that everybody should read.’¹¹⁷ It also contains a quotation from an article titled ‘George Sand’ by Justin McCarthy in the *Galaxy*, which asserts that ‘[t]here is hardly a woman’s heart anywhere in the civilized world which has not felt the vibration of George Sand’s thrilling voice.’¹¹⁸ By directly referring to the novel, James invites his readers to make a comparison between Sand’s text and his own.

The plot, to briefly summarise it, is the tale of Nello, the son of a Venetian fisherman, who eventually becomes a famous opera singer. In his youth, he works as the gondolier of a widowed Venetian noblewoman, Bianca Aldini, and her daughter Alezia. He falls in love with Bianca, and is conflicted about whether or not to reveal his affections. One night, they find themselves out in a gondola alone, and get stuck in marshland and are forced to spend the night together, where they confess their love for one another. Nello wants to marry her, keen to avoid a scandal, but on reflection, aware of the social differences between them, and the impossibility of the match, leaves Venice forever. He changes his name, and nurtures his talent as a singer, before meeting and falling in love with Bianca Aldini’s now grown-up daughter many years later. Once he realises the identity of Alezia, he persuades her to marry someone more suitable. Suffice to say, the tale doesn’t end happily for either Nello or Bianca, in the sense that neither of them ends up with the person they truly love, but they have behaved morally correctly. McCarthy wrote that he did ‘not know where one could find a finer illustration of the entire sacrifice of a man’s natural impulse, passion, interest, to what might almost be called an abstract idea of honour and principle’ (GS, 669).

This novel becomes the key influence on Miss Evans’ perception of Mr. Brooke’s courtship of her, and in part her recognition of the similarity between the scenes in the novel and her own narrative causes her to reject his advances. There are two main convergences in the plots, one that is focused around the space of the Hebrew tombs in the Lido, and the other more plot-based, when both sets

¹¹⁷ George Sand, *The Last Aldini* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, c.1870), hereafter *LA*.

¹¹⁸ Justin McCarthy, ‘George Sand’, in *Galaxy*, Vol. 9, Issue 5 (May 1870), 661-671, 663, hereafter *GS*.

of lovers end up accidentally spending nights alone together, inviting scandal. Adeline Tintner has written of the reference to the novel, saying that ‘Sand’s novel is filled with the customs of eighteenth-century Venetian life relevant to James’ tale, and undoubtedly he mentioned it for that reason’, citing the latter convergence as an example, although she doesn’t explore the tale beyond the similarities in plot.¹¹⁹ The encounter allows for James to explore the contrasts between the strict social customs of Venetian society with the more relaxed and liberated attitudes of Miss Evans’ American upbringing.

The first instance where the two tales converge – both contain similar scenes set amongst the Hebrew tombs of the Lido – is the point in ‘Travelling Companions’ where Mr. Brooke confesses his love to Miss Evans here, telling her he brought the fake Correggio because it ‘looked singularly like you’. She dismisses this, saying

It’s not with me you’re in love, but with that painted picture. All this Italian beauty and delight has thrown you into a romantic state of mind. You wish to make it perfect. I happen to be at hand, so you say, “Go to, I’ll fall in love.” And you fancy me, for the purpose, a dozen fine things that I’m not (TC, 203).

Miss Evans’ shooting down of his declaration is given resonance when compared to the corresponding passage from *The Last Aldini*.

Nello, having fallen in love with his mistress (in the sense that she employs him) voices his conflict about whether or not to stay in Venice or to leave. He writes that ‘I seated myself on one of the Hebrew Tombs of the Lido, and remained there for some time. [...] I determined to stifle this mad love and to quit Venice. I tried to persuade myself that the signora had never shared in it, and that I had flattered myself with a presumptuous hope’ (LA, 33). Mr. Brooke observes Miss Evans ‘sitting upon one of the Hebrew tombs, [...] watching the broken horizon. We neither of us spoke or moved, but exchanged a long steady regard; after which her eyes returned to the distance’ (TC, 201). At the equivalent point of *The Last Aldini*, Nello describes a similar pointed exchange of looks: ‘Her eyes opened, and seemed to draw me towards her by a thousand links of fire and light. I made a step

¹¹⁹ Adeline Tintner, *Henry James and the Lust of the Eyes* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1993), 135-6.

towards her, her eyes reclosed' (LA, 33). The similarity between the exchanges here would have been enough to evoke the scene from *The Last Aldini* for readers of James' tale familiar with the text. It also deepens the reader's understanding of Miss Evans' response when Mr. Brooke declares his love; the love story between Nello and Bianca does not end well, and she expects the same to happen here, so uses her head instead of her heart. Her dismissal of Mr. Brooke's purchase of the fake Correggio accentuates her emphasis on practicalities as opposed to passion.

The second way in which the two stories converge is through their use of the partners being stranded overnight, leading to the suggestion of a scandal. In the case of *The Last Aldini*, Bianca and Nello are stranded in the marshes of the Venetian Lagoon when their gondola gets stuck, and spend the night together in it awaiting rescue. They declare their love for one another, but then the next morning, aware of the scandal that will arise from the perception that they may have slept together, Nello leaves Venice for good. Similarly, in 'Travelling Companions', Mr. Brooke takes Miss Evans on a day-trip to Padua unchaperoned; he first suggests Torcello, described by Ruskin in *Stones of Venice*. They miss the last train to Venice and are forced to stay in a hotel. Where the tale differs from the novel however, is in the way Mr. Brooke and Miss Evans react to the potential scandal.

Mr. Brooke worries that her reputation is damaged, writing that '[k]nowing what suffering a similar accident would have subjected a young girl of the orthodox European training, I felt devoutly grateful that among my own people a woman and her reputation are more indissolubly one. And yet I was unable to detach myself from my Old-World associations [...] the miserable words rose to my lips, "Is she Compromised?"' (TC, 212). James' use of the word 'Compromised' creates a link between the tale and the novel; Nello states in the opening pages of the novel that he 'had never compromised any woman' (LA, 19). James' capitalisation of the word draws even greater attention to it, whilst Mr. Brooke emphasises the difference between Old World and New World attitudes to women's social freedom. What would be commonplace in America has serious repercussions for a woman's reputation in Italy, a theme James was to return to later in *Daisy Miller* and 'The

Solution'.¹²⁰ The connection between the novel and the story is used at this point to explore these differences. To avoid a scandal in European terms, instead of leaving Venice in the manner of Nello, Mr. Brooke proposes instead.

Once he arrives at Miss Evans' room in the Hotel Danieli, she says that she has spent her day '[w]riting letters, – long, tiresome, descriptive letters. I have also found a volume of Hawthorne, and have been reading "Rappaccini's Daughter". You know the scene is laid in Padua' (TC, 214). Her mention of Hawthorne's tale here is again a reference to the setting of a work of fiction where her "real" experiences have converged with a story's narrative, and it is notable that she is reading an American writer this time, as the tale would have been familiar to James' readers, and also marks her as an American herself, and not a 'creature of Italy' (TC, 180). Hawthorne's tale, set in Renaissance Padua, is the story of a young scholar, Giovanni Guasconti, who falls in love with Beatrice Rappaccini, the daughter of a renowned scientist. She walks through her garden surrounded by purple flowers created by her father, which emit a sensuous poison, and kill all around her. She and Giovanni meet in secret in the garden daily, although as long as they do, they can never be together legitimately. He brings her an antidote to the poisonous vapours she breathes so that they can escape together, upon which she falls dead. The allegorical tale is very ambiguous in its meaning, and there have been varying interpretations of it.¹²¹ However, there are two main elements of the tale that have particular resonance in relation to James' tale.

The first connection is between Italy in James' tale, and the 'Eden of poisonous flowers' in

Hawthorne's.¹²² Both are environments associated with altered states of mind or being;

Rappaccini's garden contains flowers that imbue those who are near them with a deadly poison,

¹²⁰ In *Daisy Miller*, Daisy commits indiscretions by going around Rome in public with a young Italian man. Henry James, *Daisy Miller* (London: Penguin, 2007). In 'The Solution', a young American is duped into marrying an English girl by her mother, who makes him believe he has compromised her reputation by spending a few hours alone with her. Henry James, 'The Solution', in *The Complete Tales of Henry James: 1888-1891*, ed. by Leon Edel (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1963), 351-407.

¹²¹ James himself later wrote of the allegorical tale being an example of 'the ingenuity of Hawthorne's analogies'. Henry James, *Hawthorne* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1879), 64. For a brief summary of various critical interpretations, see Kenneth Dauber, *Rediscovering Hawthorne* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 25-36.

¹²² Nathaniel Hawthorne, 'Rappaccini's Daughter' (1844), in *Young Goodman Brown and Other Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 285-316, 305.

whilst Italy is the place in which Miss Evans admits 'I have not been myself' (TC, 218). Agostino Lombardo has written of this relationship, saying '[t]he "most beautiful country in the world," the garden of Europe, assumes [...] the qualities of Rappaccini's garden with its "flowers gorgeously magnificent" which, like Beatrice herself, are deadly poisonous'.¹²³ It is significant that Miss Evans says that '[i]f a year hence, in America, you are still of your present mind, I shall not decline to see you' (TC, 218), suggesting that once away from the idyllic air of Italy, Mr. Brooke might be in a less 'romantic state of mind' (TC, 203). A second link to James' tale is the motif of the purple flower, echoed in the purple accessories of mourning that Miss Evans wears. The purple that she wears acts as a barrier to her relationship with Mr. Brooke in much the same way the flowers of Rappaccini's garden inhibit the potential of a happy future between Giovanni and Beatrice.

Miss Evans rejects his proposal, saying 'you imagine that I have suffered an injury by my being left with you at Padua. I don't believe in such injuries. [...] There is even less wisdom than before in your proposal. I strongly suspect that if we had not missed the train at Padua, you would not have made it' (TC, 217). Here she asserts her standing as an American, from a country where 'such injuries' do not exist. Staiger comments on Mr. Brooke's earlier observation of her as 'an example of woman active, not woman passive' (TC, 194), saying that "'woman active" may travel to the continent, leave her father behind while she makes an excursion with a young gentleman to Padua, and be full of opinions and the desire for experience' (Staiger, 128). In associating Charlotte's own narrative with that of the fiction she reads James emphasises this. In rejecting him, Miss Evans forces Mr. Brooke out of Hawthorne's poisonous garden into following Nello of *The Last Aldini's* footsteps, leaving Venice behind him. Her parting words to him are '[d]on't fancy that I think lightly of your offer. But we have been, Mr. Brooke, in poetry. Marriage is stern prose' (TC, 218). In saying this, she emphasises her approach to Italy and her experience there as being prosaic as opposed to poetic. The plot of *The Last Aldini*, where the majority of the novel revolves around Nello's life after leaving the Countess, has encouraged her to think about the future, instead of giving in to the 'poetry' of the moment. Hawthorne's tale is another example of where fiction has echoed her own

¹²³ Agostino Lombardo, 'Italy and the Artist in Henry James', in *The Sweetest Impression of Life: The James Family and Italy*, ed. by James W. Tuttleton & Agostino Lombardo (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 228-239, 234.

experience, and reminds her of her American roots, where these 'Old-World associations' hold no weight. Prose therefore comes to stand for experience, whilst poetry stands for passion.

Conclusion in Rome

The tale ends in Rome, where Mr. Brooke encounters Miss Evans once again in a church. This time, it is in St. Peter's, and she is viewed from afar: he describes her as 'a lady in mourning' before recognising her identity when she turns to face him (TC, 222). The fact of her father's death is revealed to the reader in the same way her previous mourning dress hinted at a loss. Her father's role in the tale is fairly minor, he rarely goes beyond acting as a chaperone and an example of the 'representative American' tourist (TC, 198), drinking absinthe and people watching. His death allows Mr. Brooke the opportunity to become Miss Evans' sole companion.



(fig. 18) Titian, *Sacred and Profane Love* (1514), Borghese Gallery, Rome.

After they have reunited, Mr. Brooke and Miss Evans meet at the Borghese Gallery. They stand in front of Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love* (fig. 18). Mr. Brooke describes it as

one of the finest of its admirable author, – rich, simple and brilliant with the true Venetian fire. It unites the charm of an air of latent symbolism with a steadfast splendor and solid perfection of design. Beside a low sculptured well sit two young and beautiful women: one richly clad, and full of mild dignity and repose; the other

with unbound hair, naked, ungirdled by a great reverted mantle of Venetian purple, and radiant with the frankest physical sweetness and grace (TC, 224).

The woman's cloak in the painting is not actually purple, but red, yet James' writing that it is creates a connection between Miss Evans' earlier mourning of the loss of her fiancé, and the fact of her standing with a new lover. The colour is given new, more hopeful associations.

They stand in front of the painting, and Mr. Brooke offers his interpretation of it:

The name perhaps roughly expresses its meaning. The serious, stately woman is the likeness, one may say, of love as an experience, – the gracious, impudent goddess of love as a sentiment; this of the passion that fancies, the other of the passion that knows (TC, 225).

Taine had also written of the painting in *Italy: Rome and Naples*. He describes the two figures in a similar way: '[o]ne, calm with noblest serenity, and the other white with the amber whiteness of living flesh between red and white drapery, the breasts slightly defined, and the head free from licentious vulgarity, gives an idea of love of the happiest kind' (*I:RN*, 228). Both James and Taine's descriptions of the paintings express a preference for the nude figure of "profane" love. Taine writes that the difference between art and literature is when literature 'with twenty-five lines of ink on white paper [...] attempts to convey an idea of the curve of a nose or a chin. I fall short of a picturesque effect and only half attain to a literary effect; I am only half-painter, half-author' (*I:RN*, 228), explaining that in contrast Titian's painting expresses this sensuous idea well. In this sense, Mr. Brooke's description of the painting only therefore half conveys the full meaning of the painting, and he is simply interpreting the meaning as it is relevant to him and Miss Evans. The painting's figures are being used by James to represent the two characters' approaches to Italian culture and to each other. Miss Evans is represented by the clothed character of 'Experience', whilst Mr. Brooke is the other figure representing 'Sentiment'.

Miss Evans finally accepts his proposal, acknowledging she has been wrong to be so single-minded. In doing so, she says of the figures in the painting that 'one may stand for the love I denied, and the other ' [Mr. Brooke takes over...] 'for the love which, with this kiss, you accept' (TC, 225). The moral of the tale seems to be – to quote the later words of E.M. Forster – '[o]nly connect the prose and the

passion, and both will be exalted, and human love will be seen at its highest.¹²⁴ Both this story and the one that follows it, 'At Isella', may be fairly minor tales in James' oeuvre – yet they very ably demonstrate just how important Italian culture was to James in these early days of writing about Italy, and how he presents it to an American readership. Their value is in exploring just how he plays a keen interest in paintings and literary texts against the plots of the tales, combining commentaries on art with character studies in a way that fruitfully explores the contrasts between American and European attitudes to ideas of marriage and morality. In 'At Isella', we shall see how James uses a slightly different approach, mostly due to the different audience he was writing for.

¹²⁴ E.M. Forster, *Howards End* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), 183-4.

Chapter Three. "The Lady is a Fib": Real and Imagined Encounters in 'At Isella' (1871)

The plot of 'At Isella' is fairly straightforward. A young American man, visiting Switzerland, decides to spend the summer in Italy, and walks across the Alps in search of 'symptoms of Italy' in the landscape en route (Isella, 316). He observes the scenery as he crosses the border, and eventually settles at an inn in the frontier village of Isella. Here, he is invited by the innkeeper to sit down to supper with a young Italian woman, who becomes for him the epitome of all Italian women. He comes to learn she is on the run from her tyrannical husband, and fleeing towards Switzerland, where her true love lies ill, maybe dying, in Geneva. After hearing her story, the tourist gives her money to help her secure a private coach to escape her husband, who arrives the next day in search of her, lending veracity to her claims.

The tale is split into two very distinct sections; the first is broadly biographical, based on James' own experience of walking across the Alps into Italy, as an exploration of the tale in light of his letters home will attest to. The second part of the tale is largely fictional, as James creates a "romance" from the presence of the signora. The tale has traditionally been read as a 'fantasy-story', to quote Leon Edel.¹²⁵ Carl Maves writes that 'the first part of the piece is entirely travel reminiscence, and what remains is pure story [...] it is at the point [the narrator] crosses the border that the guidebook becomes fiction.'¹²⁶ More recently, Rosella Mamoli Zorzi has described this tale as 'a comment on the idea of romance connected with Italy.'¹²⁷

There has been a tendency in criticism to leave the tale there, or to read it solely in this light. Upon closer inspection however, 'At Isella' reveals much about James' writing habits and how he writes for his magazine audience by engaging with material recognisable to them. I hope to illuminate the

¹²⁵ Leon Edel, 'The Italian Journeys of Henry James', in *The Sweetest Impression of Life: The James Family and Italy*, ed. by James W. Tuttleton & Agostino Lombardo (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 8-21, 13.

¹²⁶ Carl Maves, *Sensuous Pessimism: Italy in the Works of Henry James* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1973), 19, hereafter Maves.

¹²⁷ Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, 'Henry James and Italy', in *A Companion to Henry James Studies*, ed. by Greg W. Zacharias (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 434-455, 435.

way James' narrator makes use of references to visual and literary culture to both understand and read Italy and how James conveys this approach to Italy to his audience, both public (the readers of the *Galaxy*), and private (primarily the Norton family). James sent a copy of the tale to Grace Norton, and the sheer number of references to art in it that she and her brother Charles Eliot Norton would both have been familiar with indicates a certain amount of conscious display on James' part. The way James writes with both of these audiences in mind seems to be closely related to the division of the tale into distinctly separate sections. I will explore the first half of the tale in terms of how James writes about the Swiss and Italian landscape in a predominantly visual way which not only sets up how he presents Italy to his general readership, but also contains many allusions to paintings that I would like to suggest are for James' personal pleasure and private audience. The final section will look at how the rest of the tale branches into the realm of fiction, and how James is able to economically characterise the Italian signora through references to literary and theatrical works that readers of his tale in the *Galaxy* would be familiar with.

Publishing Context

Never reprinted in James' lifetime, 'At Isella' was first published in the *Galaxy* in August 1871, the sixth tale of James' to have been placed there.¹²⁸ Quoting an article from the *Nation*, Frank Mott observes that the *Galaxy* was "'born of a divine discontent with the [Massachusetts-based] *Atlantic Monthly*" and "the feeling that New York ought to have a monthly of its own", although ironically it ended its run by being swallowed up by the *Atlantic* in 1878.¹²⁹ Mott describes how the *Galaxy* had 'touched popular life at more points and more directly than most other important magazines have' (Mott3, 374).

Unlike the *Atlantic Monthly*, which he refers to copiously in his letters to his family and friends, James makes very little mention of the publication, despite being a regular contributor to it over its

¹²⁸ The other tales by James that the *Galaxy* had previously published were 'A Day of Days' (June 1866), 'The Story of a Masterpiece' (Jan-Feb 1868), 'A Problem' (June 1868), 'Osborne's Revenge' (July 1868), and 'A Light Man' (July 1869).

¹²⁹ Frank Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Vol. 3 1865-1885* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 361, hereafter Mott3.

thirteen-year running period (1866-1878). This suggests it was of less importance to him in comparison to the *Atlantic*, with which he had the most prolific working relationship, due to his friendship with William Dean Howells. Howells himself encouraged James to publish more work in the *Galaxy*, writing to him in June 1869 that 'it is good policy for you to send something to the *Galaxy* now and then', presumably to help James build his reputation elsewhere.¹³⁰ Coincidentally, this was sent at the time that James had just crossed into Italy on his tour of Europe, so it is timely that a tale that James wrote set on the border between Switzerland and Italy would go to this publication.

When one examines the articles being printed in the *Galaxy* in the year or so preceding 'At Isella', there are elements of its editorial content that, for readers of the magazine, James' tale engages with. As Mott observes, '[t]wenty-two pages per volume of the *Galaxy* file were devoted to topics closely related to manners. [...] Journalism, literature, politics, sociology, feminism, all were viewed more or less from this angle of "the manners or want of manners peculiar to Americans"' (Mott3, 376). The magazine had previously published a number of articles on Italy, and these focused on the country's history, culture, and social issues.

Between February and September 1870, a series of anonymous articles appeared under the title 'Ten Years in Rome', detailing various aspects of Roman social, ecclesiastical, and intellectual culture. The first of these considers the limited access Anglo-Saxon tourists had to Rome's social world: 'when John Bull and Uncle Sam come to Rome, ignoring [the] peculiarities of society, and fancying a large income [...] will secure ready recognition, they are painfully undeceived.'¹³¹ The article goes on to explore some of the houses that one might visit when in Rome, noting that '[l]iving under a ban, which forbids converse on politics and religion, the *society* of Rome is restrained to the musical, or literary, or artistic', thus placing an emphasis on Italy as a cultural milieu (TYR, 203).

This article – along with others on similar topics, such as James F. Meline's 'A Journey Through Italy

¹³⁰ Michael Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 64. Anesko also notes that later on, Howells was 'steering his friend away' from magazines like the *Galaxy* in 1874. Michael Anesko, *"Friction with the Market": Henry James and the Profession of Authorship* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 41.

¹³¹ Anon, 'Ten Years in Rome: Random Notes of Roman Society', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 9, Issue 2 (Feb. 1870), 203-212, 203, hereafter TYR.

to Rome Made Three Hundred Years Ago' (May 1871) – considers Italian culture through a comparison between America and Italy, and the past and present.

Meline's article describes the 'familiar [...] impressions' of the transalpine crossing, made commonplace to 'us' (i.e. Americans) by 'admirable prose', in order to emphasise how 'very different were the impressions of our Cisalpine ancestors of three centuries ago [sic?] on witnessing the same spectacle.'¹³² As Meline's observation that impressions of the transatlantic crossing are now 'commonplace' suggests, an American audience would already be familiar with the route James' narrator takes. Indeed, other American writers such as Bayard Taylor, in his travel sketchbook, had written of exactly the same route.¹³³ Therefore it is the fictional form in which he portrays his own impressions that would have been of interest to the American readership. This allows James to explore the contrast between American and Italian manners, especially in the second half of the tale, with a particular focus on the social position of women. Mott draws attention to the fact that 'the "Woman Question" was a part of this general subject' of manners (Mott3, 377).

Evidence of the magazine's emphasis on "manners" in this transatlantic setting is plentiful: my analysis here draws on articles from the period after James had returned to America from Europe in May 1870, as these are more likely to be ones he would have read. The Irish journalist and novelist Justin McCarthy was a keen observer of the differences between the Old and New World, contributing a pair of articles entitled 'American Men & Englishmen' and 'American Women & Englishwomen', followed by his serialised novel *Lady Judith: A Tale of Two Continents*, a social commentary set in both America and Europe. 'American Men & Englishmen', despite the focus its title suggests, ends with a discussion of the contrast between the two countries' treatment of women: 'One sentiment of reverence the American certainly now has to a degree far beyond that which is manifested by Englishmen – the sentiment of reverence for women.'¹³⁴ Making reference

¹³² James F. Meline, 'A Journey Through Italy to Rome Made Three Hundred Years Ago', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 11, Issue 5 (May 1871), 708-717, 710.

¹³³ Bayard Taylor, *Views Afoot; or Europe Seen with Knapsack and Staff* (London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, 1847, revised and repr. 1869), 194-202.

¹³⁴ Justin McCarthy, 'American Men and Englishmen', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 9, Issue 6 (June 1870), 758-770, 767, hereafter AME.

to J.S. Mill's 'opinions [...] which are opposed to those of the vast majority of the English people' immediately before discussing this, McCarthy recalls the impact Mill's *The Subjection of Women* had on gender politics at the time (AME, 766). In the same August 1871 issue of the *Galaxy* in which 'At Isella' was published, the frontispiece was a portrait of Mill; an apt choice considering James' emphasis in the tale on the contrast between American and Italian attitudes to women's freedom. McCarthy's article on women, published the month after 'American Men & Englishmen', continues his examination of the social contrast between American and European values towards women, noting that:

the independence of the American woman – especially of the unmarried woman – always astonishes the European. [...] All the conventionalities founded on notions of moral propriety which hedge in an English girl, have apparently no existence for young women in these United States. [...] I would say that the class of American women who are most in the habit of visiting Europe, and "go in," to use a vulgar expression, for European ways, seem to draw down far more of disparaging criticism upon them than the frankest and least timid of their more thoroughly American sisters.¹³⁵

McCarthy also draws attention to the cultural differences, noting of the American girl that although she 'knows Victor Hugo, and George Sand, and Robert Browning, and Tennyson, and Carlyle, and perhaps even Goethe and Heine, as well as a professional critic[,] I do not think that she is likely to know a great deal about Milton, or Edmund Spenser, or Fielding' (AWE, 27-8). McCarthy's observation emphasises his opinion that American women were mostly familiar with *contemporary* literary culture both British and European, as opposed to well-established literary history including the British Renaissance and eighteenth-century writers that their English counterparts were more aware of. James' repeated engagement with contemporary nineteenth-century culture in 'At Isella' suggests he was of a similar opinion, and indicates that he refers to writers recognised as being associated with American women so as to appeal to the female reader directly.

This transatlantic exchange of manners with regard to gender and culture was a subject of interest not only to McCarthy, but also to Junius Henri Browne. His article 'Women's Rights Aesthetically'

¹³⁵ Justin McCarthy, 'American Women and English Women', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 9, Issue 1 (July 1870), 26-36, 28, hereafter AWE.

argues that marriage can cause a woman to forget to be aesthetically and culturally interesting for her husband, placing the blame for the breakdown of – or abusive misery within – her marriage on her failure to do so. Though his argument that women should have the right to be free to pursue aesthetic interests after marriage may seem progressive at first, it becomes clear it is only really meant to keep her attractive, and Browne has no interest in a woman's political or social freedom: 'Wives should fight their first battle for the freedom to continue at least some of the aesthetic courses that bore them to their husband's favor.'¹³⁶

Another article by Browne, entitled 'Types of American Beauty', provides its reader with a mode of viewing women as 'living pictures and palpitating statues', encouraging the connection between culture and character that James writes about throughout his fiction.¹³⁷ He goes on to describe one American type – the Italian-American:

There is Berengaria for instance. [...] There is something of the medieval about her, and one might really imagine that the blood of the Medicis, the Viscontis or Estes flowed in her veins. She is sweet, serene, and self-contained; but the physiognomist can detect beneath the calm exterior latent passions that might become deadly under excitement. She could stab like Catharine of Florence, or poison like Lucrezia Borgia, if she had the motive or the circumstance (TAB, 110-1).

This characterisation of Italian women and their descendants through a cultural lens has much in common with the way James' narrator first perceives the Signora of 'At Isella'. James' own reading of books such as T. A. Trollope's *Decade of Italian Women* and William Gilbert's *Lucrezia Borgia* in April 1871 suggests he may have been reading these as research for his portrayal of the signora.¹³⁸ As with so many of the articles throughout the *Galaxy*, James' tale emphasises the association of Italy with culture, and by extension, Italian people with their cultural counterparts. However, as the next section will explore, there is a distinct tension between his desire to write for his personal pleasure

¹³⁶ Henri Junius Browne, 'Woman's Rights Aesthetically', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 11, Issue 5 (May 1871), 725-730, 727.

¹³⁷ Henri Junius Browne, 'Types of American Beauty', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 11, Issue 1 (Jan. 1871), 108-116, 110, hereafter TAB.

¹³⁸ Glen MacLeod, 'The James Family and the Boston Athenaeum: A Bibliography', in *Resources for American Literary Studies*, Vol. 29 (2005), 89-140, 106.

– and by extension, his personal audience – by drawing on his own experience, and the commercial need to entertain his readership in the *Galaxy* with familiar material.

The Gendered Landscape: James' First Experience of Italy

Elegance and grace seem to be the distinctive features, as I get to know it, of Italian landscape. [...] [u]pon the face of this Italian summer there reigns the most enchanting feminine smile. England is a good married matron, Switzerland a magnificent man, & Italy a beautiful disheveled nymph of fable (CL1855-72:2, 95).

So James described the contrasts between the landscapes of the three countries he had spent the most time in whilst traveling in Europe in 1869.¹³⁹ In spite of the fact he was writing to his mother – he might have been more candid with his brother William – the likening of Italy to a nymph clearly associates Italy not only with femininity, a contrast to the association of the Swiss Alps with manhood, but a mythic creature of a world outside of Victorian convention. ‘At Isella’ takes further elements from this letter – so that the scenery of Switzerland becomes associated with masculinity, whilst the spirit of Italy is epitomised by the initially enigmatic Italian signora the narrator meets at the frontier village of Isella.

In a letter to his sister Alice, dated 31st August 1869, James described his crossing of the Swiss Alps by foot into Italy. There he experienced ‘the delight of seeing the north slowly melt into the south – of seeing Italy gradually crop up in bits and vaguely and latently betray itself’ (CL1855-72:2, 83). He takes great pleasure in describing the visual aspects of the scenery for his family – it is the ‘odd mingling of tawdriness & splendor – the generous profuse luxuriance of nature & the ludicrous gingerbread accessories of human contrivance’ that makes Italian scenery so ‘striking’ (CL1855-72:2, 83). For both himself, and for his fictional narrator, observation of the scenery plays a key role in their experience of the journey south – the narrator recognises the

¹³⁹ Leon Edel used the phrase ‘Dishevelled Nymph’ as the title for his chapter on James’ first Italian trip, and uses unreferenced extracts of the letter quoted, saying James ‘would take up his residence with the matron; but at regular intervals all his life he would pursue the disheveled nymph’. Leon Edel, *The Life of Henry James: Vol. 1* (London: Penguin Books, 1977), 246. See also my discussion of James’ use of the terms “nymph” and “bacchante” in Chapter One (p. 35).

scenery from paintings and etchings. When it comes to observing the local characters, imagination is required to assign them with a *raison d'être*, imagination that is based on one's previous knowledge of Italian culture. As James himself admitted, the desire for a more than nominal interaction with the people one encounters is one side effect of this way of approaching Italy – a desire which is the main focus of 'At Isella'. James described the tale in these terms to Grace Norton:

I send you herewith a little story – not meant for folks as fresh from Italy as you – the fruit of a vague desire to reproduce a remembered impression & mood of mind. The lady herself is a gross fib. At the time, I wanted something to happen; I improved on vulgar experience by supposing that something did. It is not much as you'll see, & such as it is, not perhaps an improvement (*CL1855-72:2*, 409-10).

This letter demonstrates the limited social position that James as tourist found himself in, where he has to create an imagined narrative going beyond his own 'vulgar experience' in order to give the tale a plot. This desire to penetrate beneath the surface, and into the social reality, is emphasised in the first section of the tale.

On starting his journey South into Italy, the narrator of 'At Isella' encounters houses at Altorf, in Switzerland, that cause him to start 'longing plaintively, in the manner of roaming Americans, for a few stray crumbs from the native social board; with my fancy vainly beating its wings against the great blank wall, behind which, in travel-haunted Europe, all gentle private interests nestle away from intrusion' (Isella, 309). He writes that 'here, as everywhere, I was struck with the mere surface-relation of the Western tourist to the soil he treads. He filters and trickles through the dense social body in every possible direction, and issues forth at last the same virginal water drop' (Isella, 309). The use of the metaphor of a 'virginal' water drop suggests the American tourist is impervious to being muddied by a corrupt European society, since they are limited to watching it from an outsider's perspective: "'Go your way," these antique houses seemed to say, from their quiet courts and gardens; "the road is yours and welcome, but the land is ours. You may pass and stare and wonder, but you may never know us"' (Isella, 309). James Buzard writes that 'James recognizes that tourists' superficiality protects both them and their objects of contemplation; on close contact,

the *real* might show itself to be *merely real*, disappointingly prosaic.¹⁴⁰ The tourist is limited to having to simply 'stare and wonder' at what might be going on beneath the surface of a society that he is unable to penetrate; the nature of the tourist's approach to Italian society is necessarily limited to the visual, superficial aspects of it, and he is placed in the role of what Buzard terms spectator as opposed to actor.

In the second half of 'At Isella', the narrator is given the opportunity to transcend the distinction between observer and participant when he encounters the signora. His wish to encounter 'culture' as well as social interaction leads him to attribute characteristics to her that stem from literary and visual references to culture that he has already experienced – giving himself a frame of reference through which to understand her behaviour, in a way that both limits his interaction with her and allows him to assert his American identity. The way the narrator approaches the Alpine landscape in the first half of the tale establishes this pattern whereby the real is absorbed through reference to the previously seen or imagined. Yet James does this in a way that would have been lost on much of his public audience. Instead, he writes in a way that, whilst acknowledging the relationship between the real and the previously seen painting or image on the surface, doesn't openly reveal any of the sources for them, merely referring to scenes as being generically picturesque. Yet the scenes would have likely been recognisable to his more well travelled audience, especially Grace Norton and her family.

Whilst the narrator relies on cues from the visual arts in his observation of landscape and characters, once he meets the signora, he starts to build up an image of her character based rather on women from French theatre, Italian history, and fiction. He abandons his imagined perception of her as a theatrical character as he hears her tragic tale of being forced into an unhappy marriage. At this point, the tale changes tack to provide its American audience with a comforting comparison between the freedoms afforded their own women, and the restrictions imposed on Italian women. I would argue that many of the visual allusions in the first half of the tale are aimed more at the well-

¹⁴⁰ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture' 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 250, hereafter Buzard. Buzard entitles the section discussing 'At Isella' 'Actor or Spectator?' - two terms which define the basis of much of the interaction between the narrator and Italian signora (Buzard, 247).

travelled reader, such as Grace Norton, considering her family's strong connection to Ruskin, and by extension Turner, to whom James seems to allude repeatedly. The act of sending her a copy of the tale, especially in light of the fact he had sent her numerous letters previously discussing his passion for Italian art and culture, suggests he expected she would recognise the allusions to paintings that he makes. However, in writing to Norton that the tale is 'not meant for folks as fresh from Italy as you', James suggests it has been written predominantly for a less well-travelled readership. This is emphasised by the fact that once James starts to "imagine" the Signora, he relies on using more direct literary and theatrical references that reflect the *Galaxy's* previous articles on European culture, thereby allowing his readers to follow more fully his approach to penetrating into Italians' inner lives. It is from this tension between writing for his own personal pleasure – and by extension his friend's – and writing for a prescribed public audience that the tale's rather artificial structure arises.

Framing the Landscape: Pictorial References on the Journey South

In the first half of 'At Isella', James' narrator travels South through the Alpine mountains to the Italian border. James' narrator follows the routes of Baedeker's *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* almost to the letter, namely Route 23: 'From Lucerne to Como (*Milan*) by the St. Gotthard', Route 33: 'From the Rhone Glacier to Andermatt', and part of Route 63: 'From Martigny to Arona on Lago Maggiore by the Simplon'.¹⁴¹ James uses visual references to the different qualities of life in Italy and Switzerland to prepare the reader for his approach to the Italian people he encounters later. At the start of the tale, the American narrator writes of having tired of Switzerland: 'ever since deciding to winter in Italy [...] I had had a standing quarrel with Switzerland. What was Switzerland after all? Little else but brute Nature surely, of which we have enough and to spare. What we seek in Europe is Nature refined and transmuted to art. [...] I pined for a cathedral or gallery' (Isella, 307). In referring to his desire to see 'Nature refined and transmuted to art', the narrator prepares the reader for the way in which he will be observing the shifting landscape of the Swiss-Italian border: in terms of its portrayal in art. When the narrator 'fretfully deflavor[s] his

¹⁴¹ Karl Baedeker, *Switzerland and the Adjacent Portions of Italy, Savoy, and the Tyrol: Handbook for Travellers* (Coblenz: Karl Baedeker, 1869), 66-83, 137-9, 251-60, hereafter BHS.

Murray's North Italy' (Isella, 307), he is signaling his reliance on the handbook's system of observing the country through a cultural perspective (see p. 44).

Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont* provides an interesting point of comparison with America, when its introduction states 'we are so accustomed to look upon Switzerland as "the land of liberty," that the generality of travellers will take the thing for granted', associating Switzerland with freedom, and by extension, with America, both in political and social terms.¹⁴² For James, both the landscape of Switzerland and its political associations imbue it with a masculine character; the world of nineteenth-century

politics being predominantly male. His narrator emphasises this when he describes the parts of the country that relate to William Tell, whose exploits 'resulted in the liberation of Switzerland from the Austrian yoke' (*BHS*, 74).¹⁴³ James' narrator is disdainful of the standard of art that represents these ideas, speaking of 'that ludicrous plaster-cast of the *genius loci* and his cross-bow' (Isella, 308, fig. 19).

(fig. 19) Anon, *William Tell* (unknown), William Tell Museum, Bürglen.

Jörg Hasler describes this as James' 'uncompromising aestheticism [...] we look in vain for the moral indignation, the comparative discussion of political systems which his countrymen inevitably indulged in.'¹⁴⁴ In contrast, the language James uses to describe Italy once he nears the border indicates a preoccupation with the country's feminine

¹⁴² John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont* (London: John Murray, 1867), xlv.

¹⁴³ William Tell's role in the Swiss Revolution against Austria would have been well known to American readers through Friedrich Schiller's play *Wilhelm Tell* (1804). Friedrich Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell: Translated into English Verse* (London: David Nutt, 1869). Thomas Carlyle writes of the play that '[t]he incidents of the Swiss Revolution, as detailed in Tschudi or Müller, are here faithfully preserved, even to their minutest branches' Thomas Carlyle, *Lives of Friedrich Schiller and John Sterling* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857), 137.

¹⁴⁴ Jörg Hasler, *Switzerland in the Life and Work of Henry James* (Basel: Francke Verlag Bern, 1966), 44.

aspect. After describing the land of William Tell, the narrator writes of buying at Fleulen ‘certain villainous peaches and plums, offered by little girls at the steamboat landing, and of which it was currently whispered that they had ripened on those further Italian slopes’ (Isella, 308). Associating the fruit of the Southern clime with the girls who sell them subtly identifies Italy with femininity, whilst contrasting this with the masculinity of Switzerland; the same paragraph describes William Tell’s escape from captivity, how he, ‘leaping from among his custodians in Gesler’s boat, spurned the stout skiff with his invincible heel’ (Isella, 308), again equating Switzerland with masculine acts of heroism, as demonstrated by the frescos in Tell’s chapel (fig. 20).¹⁴⁵ This gendered contrast between the two countries prepares the reader for the appearance of the signora later in the tale.

(fig. 20) Ernst Stückelberg, *Tell’s Leap* (1879), William Tell Chapel, Lake Lucerne.

Similarly, the narrator echoes James’ own description of the landscape to his mother when he writes that ‘Italy nears and nears [...] You suspect it first in [...] the growing warmth of the air, a fancied *elegance* of leaf and twig’ (Isella, 317, emphasis my own). James’ narrator is of a similarly aesthetic disposition to James himself; his interest lies less in the masculine, political aspects of Swiss art, and more in the aesthetic charms to be found in Italy: ‘The traveller’s impatience

¹⁴⁵ The chapel James would have visited was rebuilt in 1879, with the fresco pictured painted in 1880, so any images James saw are now lost. Baedeker describes the original chapel, saying ‘it contains a few rudely-executed frescoes representing scenes from Tell’s history, and was erected by the Canton of Uri on the spot where the Swiss liberator sprang out of Gessler’s boat’ (*Baedeker*, 72).

hereabouts is quickened by his nearness to one of the greatest of the Alpine highways' (Isella, 308). In drawing attention to the art of Switzerland, James is showing his readers his narrator's way of viewing the landscape from a cultural perspective. Throughout the tale, many of the scenes he selects to point out on the journey South are either openly acknowledged references to images from the art world, or more veiled allusions that he seems to be including for personal pleasure, or for the benefit of fellow well-travelled readers.

(fig. 21) Hans Heinrich Wägmann, *Scenes from Lucerne's History* (c. 1606), Chapel Bridge, Lucerne.

This desire for culture is made clear from the start of the tale in the opening description of Lucerne, where the narrator writes of the 'blue' of 'heaven' and the 'tumbling Reuss', and the 'quaintly-timbered bridges, vaulted with mystical paintings in the manner of Holbein' (Isella, 307, fig. 21). The narrator's comment on the stylistic similarities of the paintings to Holbein's works immediately indicates his being a man of culture. When describing the scenery of Lucerne as he sees it from the lake, he writes:

my eyes lingered with a fresher fondness upon an admirable bit of the civic picturesque – a great line of mellow-stuccoed dwellings, with verdurous water-steps and grated basements, rising squarely from the rushing cobalt of the Reuss. It was a palpable foretaste of Venice (Isella, 309).

Here the narrator's description of the scene is strongly reminiscent of a watercolour by Turner, *View of Lucerne* (fig. 22), which had been in Ruskin's possession at the time that James visited him in

1869, so may well have been amongst the images of Turner's that had been shown to James.¹⁴⁶ The fact that the picture was not on public display means that James cannot be alluding to this painting with the idea that a general readership will recognise it, although Charles Eliot Norton's family, good friends of Ruskin, probably would have done.¹⁴⁷ The 'foretaste of Venice' that the narrator derives from the view is also important here. When one compares Turner's painting of Lucerne with two others in Ruskin's collection that he bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1861, namely *Fluelen, From the Lake*, and *Venice: Calm at Sunrise* (Wilton, 464 & 478, fig. 23 & 24),¹⁴⁸ the likeness in both composition and colour – especially in the case of the latter two – between these three images is highly suggestive of a visual similarity between the two sites. James' framing of the 'civic picturesque' of Lucerne in such similar terms suggests he was drawing on these images as sources, depicting in verbal form how nature can be 'transmuted to art' (Isella, 307). Whilst the specific sources of the paintings, if this identification holds good, are not recognisable to *Galaxy* readers, who would be unlikely to have seen the paintings, the mere act of using terms such as 'picturesque' here is enough to give his less well-connected readers a hint of the narrator's way of viewing the landscape.

James' narrator continues making these veiled references as he travels further South, saying of the Simplon Pass: 'I should like to be able to trace the soft stages by which those rugged heights melt over into a Southern difference' (Isella, 317). He describes the Devil's Bridge of the Saint Gothard Pass as a fearsome place, writing that '[y]ou have no impulse to linger here fondly' (Isella, 311), but also adds in a visual element:

I was haunted as I walked by an old steel plate in a French book I used to look at as a child, lying on my stomach on the parlor floor. Under it was written "Saint Gothard." I

¹⁴⁶ Information on the ownership of Turner's paintings comes from J. A. Wilton, *The Life and Work of J.M.W. Turner* (London: Academy Editions, 1979), 476.

¹⁴⁷ James' letters to Grace Norton make countless references to works of art, and one in particular, written in November 1869, writes of a painting by Claude 'which leaves Turner nowhere', indicating a shared familiarity with Turner's works (*CL1855-72*: 2, 196).

¹⁴⁸ James wrote to his sister that he "did" Cambridge in May 1869, where he spent two days (*CL1855-72*: 1, 306). Later travel-guides included the Fitzwilliam on their itinerary, making special mention of '25 drawings by Turner given to the university by Mr. Ruskin' in 1861. John Murray, *Handbook for England and Wales* (London: John Murray, 1878), 85. See also: Ruskin's Turners, <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/turner/>, accessed 22/07/2014.

(fig. 22) Joseph W. Turner, *View of Lucerne* (1841), Art Institute of Chicago.

(fig. 23) Joseph W. Turner, *Fluelen, From the Lake* (1840-3), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

(fig. 24) Joseph W. Turner, *Venice: Calm at Sunrise* (1840), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

remember distinctly the cold, gray mood which this picture used to generate; the same tone of feeling is produced by the actual scene. Coming at last to the Devil's Bridge, I recognized the source of the steel plate of my infancy (Isella, 310).



(fig. 25), Rudolph Töpffer, 'Montée du Saint-Gothard – Côté du Nord', in *Premiers Voyages en*

There are two likely sources for James's description of the steel plate, although neither exactly fits the fictional version. The first is Rudolphe Töpffer's *Premiers Voyages en Zigzag, ou excursions d'un pensionnat en vacances dans les cantons Suisses et sur la revers Italien des Alpes* (1844). This was a heavily illustrated book of travel writing with a comic emphasis, recounting the author's travels up and down through Switzerland and Italy, and features both Isella and the St. Gothard Pass. It is known that James had a copy of its sequel, *Nouveaux Voyages en Zigzag* (1854), and it is therefore likely that he would have known, or at least been aware of the original.¹⁴⁹ However, whilst in *Premiers Voyages* there are plenty of images of the area in question, none of them are views that correspond directly with the narrator's description. There is a plate entitled 'Montée du Saint-Gothard – Côté du Nord' (fig. 25), although this doesn't exactly match James' phrasing, and the image is not of or from the Devil's Bridge. However, there is a smaller illustration two pages later that does correspond better to James' description of how the valley 'lifts and narrows and darkens into the scenic mountain pass of the fancy' (Isella, 310), but lacks a caption (fig. 26). Despite the lack of an exact match to James' description, it is probable that this is the French book that James is

¹⁴⁹ Leon Edel & Adeline R. Tintner, 'The Library of Henry James, From Inventory, Catalogues, and Library Lists', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 4, Issue 3 (Spring 1983), 158-190, 187.

referring to, whilst the image he describes appears to be one from a more contemporary memory; James seems to be amalgamating the two.

The second source is most likely James' viewing of Ruskin's collection of Turners in 1869. In Turner's *Liber Studiorum*, there is an engraving entitled 'St. Gothard' which renders the view of the Saint Gothard Pass from the Devil's Bridge; there is also another of the bridge itself (figs. 27 & 28).¹⁵⁰ Ruskin wrote of the bridge that it 'supplied to Turner the elements of his most terrible thoughts in mountain vision, even to the close of his life. The noblest plate in the series of the *Liber Studiorum*, one engraved by his own hand, is of that bridge'.¹⁵¹ A footnote explains that there are 'only two impressions of it', of which Ruskin owned one, and it seems likely that this would be amongst the ones James refers to having been shown in his letter home. Another element of James' story that indicates he may be alluding



(fig. 26), Rudolph Töpffer, 'Untitled', in *Premiers Voyages en Zigzag* (Paris: Garnier

to Ruskin's collection of Turner's engravings and paintings is his description of the Hospice of St Bernard's dogs 'dozing outside in the sunshine' (Isella, 315) – suggestive of another image that was sketched by Turner, and copied by Ruskin (fig. 29).¹⁵² Whether or not the specificity of these

¹⁵⁰ J. W. Turner, *Liber Studiorum: Mountain and Marine Subjects* (London: The Autotype Fine Art Company Ltd, 1871), plates 20 & 21.

¹⁵¹ John Ruskin, *Modern Painters: Vol. 3* (London: Blackfriars Publishing Co., [n.d.]), 253.

¹⁵² Ashmolean Museum, *The Elements of Drawing, John Ruskin's teaching collection at Oxford*. Available at: <http://ruskin.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/collection/8990/9164/9178/7661> (Accessed: 10 July 2012).



(fig. 27), Joseph W. Turner, 'St. Gothard' (c. 1804).



(fig. 28), Joseph W. Turner, 'St. Gothard' (c. 1804).

references would have been

recognised by his general

readership seems to be of

little concern to him – the

Nortons or his own family

seem to be the intended

audience for his allusions

here. For the more general

readership, the fact that the

image he recognises comes

from a book would be a

familiar form of viewing

foreign countries, as James himself did with Grace Norton (see p. 41).

(fig. 29), John Ruskin, *Drawing of Turner's "Hospice of the Great Saint Bernard"* (1857), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Once the narrator reaches the Italian border, his descriptions of people associate them with works of art or culture, and with this, moral implications arise. Upon arrival at Isella, he sees a young soldier 'with a moustache *à la* Victor Emanuel, puffing a cigarette, and yawning with the sensuous *ennui* of Isella – the first of that swarming company of warriors whose cerulean presence, in many a rich street-scene, in later hours touched up so brightly the foreground of the picture' (Isella, 318). The idea of the soldiers bringing colour to the picture brings to mind any number of Baroque or American Neo-Classical paintings by Claude, Turner, or Thomas Cole, where the foreground of grand Italian landscapes is peopled with soldiers or peasants. By making reference to the soldier's moustache, and likening it to that of the then current king of Italy, the description is given the edge of slight political satire that would have appealed to James' public audience. In April 1871, Justin McCarthy wrote an article in the *Galaxy* about Emanuel, describing a coin depicting him with his 'hideous moustache' (fig. 30).¹⁵³ McCarthy uses the moustache as a symbol of how 'rough and coarse-looking' the king is: 'His huge straw-colored moustache, projecting about half a foot on each side of his face, was as unsightly a piece of manly decoration as ever royal countenance

¹⁵³ Justin McCarthy, 'Victor Emanuel, King of Italy', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 11 (April 1871), 548-558, 548, hereafter VEKI.

displayed' (VEKI, 549). The

narrator's likening of the

(fig. 30), *Coin depicting Victor Emanuel* (1867), British Museum, London.

soldier's moustache to that of

the current king would have

most likely been read by

James' *Galaxy* readership as a

small joke about the king's

most recognisable feature. It

also signals the start of James' active engagement with his magazine audience; from this point

onwards the majority of the cultural material he alludes to would have been recognisable to his

American readership.

This connection of men with politics carries on from the narrator's previous allusion to Swiss

politics and William Tell. In contrast, the first female he encounters in Italy – a peasant woman – he

describes in Madonna-like terms: '[s]tanding there with the little unswaddled child on her breast,

and smiling simply from her glowing brow, she made a picture which, in coming weeks, I saw

imitated more or less vividly over many an altar and in many a palace' (Isella, 318). Here, instead of

the scene evoking the memory of a painting, art recreates the image he sees before him. He projects

moral attributes onto the peasant he encounters, yet without any real sense of her character beyond

her act of charity in giving him a glass of 'her only wine' (Isella, 318). This way of attributing a

richer meaning to a possibly otherwise superficial encounter through culture is further displayed in

the narrator's interactions with the tale's heroine, the unnamed signora.

The signora of James' imagination first figures in the tale like the other Italians described, when the

narrator encounters her standing by a parapet outside the inn he stays in at Isella. He initially

describes the landscape of the village as one might describe a painting: 'opposite the inn the

mountain stream, still untamed, murmured and tumbled between the stout parapet which edged

the road and the wall of rock which enclosed the gorge' (Isella, 320). Yet as he watches the scene,

his urge for something more fulfilling, a figure in the landscape, awakens: 'Here was Italy at last; but

what was next? [...] I had been deeply moved, but I was primed for a deeper emotion still. Would it

come?’ (Isella, 320). At this point, he lays his eyes upon the signora. She is described as ‘alone and in meditation. Her two elbows resting on the stone coping’ with a ‘dress, of a light black material [...] trimmed and adorned with crimson silk. There was an air of intense meditation in her attitude’ (Isella, 320). The signora’s body language here is visually suggestive of Thomas Cole’s *Il Penseroso* (fig. 31), which depicts the figure of an Italian woman in a similarly pensive pose. Just as the soldier he encountered before adds social colour to the scene he sees before him, the narrator’s first encounter with the countess portrays her at a comfortable aesthetic distance. Yet it is in her posture that James hints at there being a story to be told, just as the female figure in Cole’s landscape painting adds a narrative depth to the painting, inviting curiosity as to what story is being portrayed.¹⁵⁴

At this point, their sole interaction is when she becomes aware of his presence, and looks at him with ‘a hint of suspicion and defiance’ and he fancies her eyes are saying ‘[w]ho are you, what are you, roaming so close to me?’ (Isella, 320-1). He bows with ‘deference’, whereby she ‘perceive[s...] that [he is] utterly a foreigner, and presumably a gentleman’ (Isella, 320-1), and relaxes somewhat.



(fig. 31), Thomas Cole, *Il Penseroso* (1845), Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

¹⁵⁴ James employs a similar motif in the opening chapter of *Confidence*, where Bernard Longueville sketches Angela Vivian outside a church in Siena. There, as here, the emphasis on the *image* of the lone female acts as a signifier of the viewer’s desire to penetrate beyond a superficial impression of her. Henry James, ‘*Confidence*’, in *Novels 1871-1880* (New York: Library of America: 1983), 1041-1252, 103-5.

Their lack of spoken interaction, and his use of words such as ‘perceived’ and ‘fancied’ about his impressions echo his previous emphasis on the ‘mere surface relation of the Western tourist to the soil he treads’ (Isella, 309). The unspoken suggestion of his having committed an indiscretion in being ‘alone in this narrow pass’ with her is made clear (Isella, 321), and sets the scene for the discussion they come to have later that evening about the freedom of women in America compared to Italy.

The landlord of the inn, the native social guide of the tale, also notes her indiscretion in travelling alone, and compares it to the behaviour of American women:

behold her strolling along the road, bare-headed, in those red flounces! What is one to say? After dusk, with the dozen officers in garrison watching the frontier! Watching the ladies come and go, *per Dio!* Many of them [...] are your own compatriots. You’ll not deny that some of them are a little free – a little bold [...] But this one; eh! She’s not out of her own country yet (Isella, 322).

In inviting the narrator to join the lady at dinner, the landlord acts as both the commentator and the enabler of the scene that is to follow, where the narrator is able to test his perception of Italian culture against the ‘reality’ of it: ‘I had heard, I had *read*, of the gracious loquacity of the Italian race and their sweet familiarities of discourse. Here was a chance to test the quality of the matter’ (Isella, 321, emphasis my own). Ironically, this is the point at which the tale moves into pure fiction, and where James describes an “imagined” encounter with a “real” Italian woman, who is implicitly compared to Italian women of literature and history. The tale’s use of cultural allusion also shifts dramatically here from relying on the visually static to an emphasis on more narrative and character-driven cultural forms, such as theatre and literature. Also at this point, James seems to rely less upon allusions to his own personal experience, and builds up a series of references to literary and theatrical culture that would mostly be recognised by his *Galaxy* readership, allowing them to engage with his description of the fictional Signora.

Literary and Theatrical References

Once the narrator begins to encounter Italians on a social level, the emphasis of the narrator's cultural references shifts not only from the visual to the literary, but also to the theatrical, giving an example of what Carl Maves has described as James portraying Italy 'as theatre and Italian life as dramatic' (Maves, 25). Similarly, Buzard describes the narrator's position as 'a merely spectatorial one, obtainable for the price of admission' (Buzard, 298). This is correct to an extent, as is demonstrated by the way the narrator perceives how the landlord of the inn of Isella arranges for him to meet the signora. The landlord's presence as the 'classic *valet de théâtre*' seems to be the main focus of this interpretation (Isella, 323).

The landlord invites the narrator to sit at dinner with the signora, at which point he writes that he feels 'that [he] was sitting down to one of those factitious repasts which are served upon the French Stage[;] the ravishing young widow and the romantic young artist begin to manipulate the very *nodus* of the comedy' (Isella, 323). Identifying himself as the artist, the signora as the widow – '[w]as [she] a widow?' (Isella, 323) – and the innkeeper as the *valet*, the narrator emphasises his feeling that the spectacle has been set up purely for his entertainment. Here James again seems to be evoking his own experience of going nightly to the Theatre Français; the situation he describes could come from any number of plays by Molière or Augier, whose works he saw in Paris in 1870 (CL1855-72:2, 279). The play James alludes to here is hard to identify clearly, but his description of the genre is sufficient to evoke for the unfamiliar reader a sense that the experience isn't entirely authentic.

James takes this idea of its being a theatrical experience further when the narrator refers to the Signora shrugging her shoulder – 'an operation she performed more gracefully than any woman I saw, unless it be Mlle. Madeleine Brohan of the Theatre Français' (Isella, 326). James had seen Madeleine Brohan in Emile Augier's *Lions et Renards* (1869) at the Theatre Français on January 19th 1870 (fig. 32).¹⁵⁵ Six years later, James was to write of Mlle. Brohan as being 'still delightful to look at', and despite saying that 'it is a long time since she has created an important part', maintained that 'in the old repertory her rich, dense voice, her charming smile, her mellow, tranquil gayety, always

¹⁵⁵ James writes to his mother about seeing an Emile Augier play during his time in Paris (CL1855-72:2, 279); see also the corresponding advertisements for the show in *Le Figaro*, 17 Année, 3 Série, Numéro 29 (Samedi 29 Janvier 1870).

give extreme pleasure. To hear her sit and *talk*, simply, and laugh and play with her fan, along with Mme. Plessy, in Molière's "Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes" is an entertainment to be remembered.¹⁵⁶ Additionally, an article in the *Galaxy* on Napoleon I's influence on the Theatre Français had named Madeleine Brohan as one of the theatre's company,¹⁵⁷ though it provides less detail than an article in the by then defunct *American Art Journal*, which, describing her as playing 'a great "widow"', goes on to say, '[i]t will be remembered that in



(fig. 32), Paul Baudry, *Madeline Brohan, de la Comédie-Francaise* (n.d.), location unknown.

France marriages are made by parents, and that mutual inclination is no part of the bargain.¹⁵⁸ The latter article's descriptions of European culture and its associated values with regard to marriage are something James echoes in the following pages of the tale. The echo of the two articles and implicit reference to their sentiments serves to bring the contemporary reader of the *Galaxy* back to the magazine's American perspective on European subject matter, hereby subtly preparing them for the comparison of American and European values that is to follow.

Once the landlord has left the "scene", the narrator is able to focus his attentions on his interpretation of the Signora's behaviour, and he relies on his literary knowledge to try to ascertain her character. She seems familiar to the narrator thanks to his Murray-esque literary preparation

¹⁵⁶ Henry James, 'The Theatre Français', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 23, Issue 4 (April 1877), 437-150, 448.

¹⁵⁷ F. B. Goodrich, 'How Napoleon I Managed a Theatre', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 10, Issue 2 (Aug. 1870), 229-240, 239.

¹⁵⁸ Anon, 'Queens of Comedy: Madeline Brohan of the Francais', in *American Art Journal*, Vol. 6, Issue 1 (Oct. 25th 1866), 12-13, 13.

for his visit: 'My mind was flooded by the memory of the rich capacity of the historic womanhood of Italy. I thought of Lucrezia Borgia, of Bianca Capello, of the heroines of Stendhal' (Isella, 324-5). These are all infamous women from Italian history, or in the case of Stendhal's heroines, French fiction about Italy, suggesting the narrator believes the woman in front of him likely to behave in a comparable way. What unites them is their indulgence in affairs – Bianca Capello was the mistress and then wife of Francesco de' Medici; Lucrezia Borgia was renowned for her adultery and had a reputation for poisoning her adversaries; whilst a prime example of 'the heroines of Stendhal', is Gina, the Duchess of Sanseverina from *The Charterhouse of Parma*, who has a long affair with the Count Mosca.

As previously discussed, at the time James was writing the tale, he took out two books from the Boston Athenaeum, T. Adolphus Trollope's *Decade of Italian Women*, and William Gilbert's *Lucrezia Borgia*. The former contains a brief biography of Bianca Capello, writing of the theory that she 'introduced poison' into a dish that then killed her husband,¹⁵⁹ whilst the latter focused on documenting Lucrezia Borgia's life, noting that '[f]rom the descriptions of her by many of the writers in her day, it would appear that a more infamous being never disgraced a woman's form'.¹⁶⁰ Trollope was a popular writer at the time; an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* praised his works on Italy in particular: 'it is the more refreshing, because of the general rule, to note a noble exception, – to see an Englishman, highly educated, studious, domestic, and patriotic, yet dwelling in Italy, not to despise and ignore, but to interpret and endear the country and people'.¹⁶¹ Gilbert however, was relatively unknown and unlikely to have been widely read by James' readers; a review in the *Galaxy* notes that his novel *Shirley Hall Asylum* 'first won for Mr. Gilbert that European reputation which appears to have failed wholly to cross the Atlantic'.¹⁶² Both of the books focus on and challenge the

¹⁵⁹ T. Adolphus Trollope, *Decade of Italian Women: Vol. 2* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1859), 334.

¹⁶⁰ William Gilbert, *Lucrezia Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara: A Biography Illustrated by Rare and Unpublished Documents* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1869), 1.

¹⁶¹ H. T. Tuckerman, 'The Writings of T. Adolphus Trollope', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 20, Issue 120 (Oct. 1867), 476-484, 476.

¹⁶² Anon, 'Review of William Gilbert's *Sir Thomas Branston*', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 9, Issue 1 (Jan. 1870), 136.

perception of these women as dangerous or untrustworthy, which is what James seems to draw attention to in the tale; he similarly challenges the notion that the Signora is deceptive.

Likewise, James had written to Charles Eliot Norton about his experience of reading Stendhal's novel in England on his return to America, noting that 'It is certainly a great novel – great in the facility and freedom with which it handles characters and *passions*' (CL1855-72:2, 331, emphasis my own). Cornelia Kelley writes that the signora 'is, in truth, a heroine from Stendhal, not restrained by her own reason as George Sand's heroines are, from immediately indulging her passion' (Kelley, 116). By referencing Stendhal in the first instance, James' narrator is acknowledging his perceived connection between the signora and these Italian "passions" James describes in the letter.

The reference to Lucrezia Borgia would have had a wealth of associations for the *Galaxy* reader. Junius Henri Browne, as previously noted, described the Italian type as being one of which 'the physiognomist can detect beneath the calm exterior latent passions that might become deadly under excitement. She could stab like Catharine of Florence, or poison like Lucrezia Borgia, if she had the motive or the circumstance' (TAB, 110-1). Browne's emphasis on these qualities being read based on her physiognomy exactly matches what James' narrator is doing with the signora. The use of the allusion to literary characters that personify this behaviour in both Browne's article and James' tale emphasises the way Italians were characterised by an American audience. In a review of a novel about Mary Stuart, the editor of the *Galaxy* wrote of its heroine being 'a complete and perfect type of wickedness in woman – Messalina, Semiramis, *Lucrezia Borgia*, Pompadour, and Becky Sharpe all in one palpitating frame.'¹⁶³ The continued use of Lucrezia Borgia's name to evoke wickedness and immorality in the magazine is notable, and the Signora of James' tale even acknowledges the comparison to Lucrezia Borgia herself when she says 'you think I've at least poisoned my husband' (Isella, 331).

In this tale, the narrator's imagination and the fictional reality before him are unified, giving him the satisfaction of being 'part and parcel of a romance' (Isella, 336), having 'tasted of sentiment, [and]

¹⁶³ William Conant Church, 'Literature and Art', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 9, Issue 3 (March 1870), 422-433, 422, emphasis my own.

assisted at a drama' (Isella, 338). He even acknowledges the similarity between the signora and his literary imagination when he tells her that 'I have done little else than fancy dramas and romances and love-tales, and lodge them in Italy. You seem to me as the heroine of all my stories' (Isella, 328). Other small touches, such as his reference to meeting his '*promessa sposa*' in Florence, an allusion to the 1827 novel of the same title by Manzoni, help to add to this idea of Italy as a land of romance, in which the people can be read according to literary and artistic sources (Isella, 329). By relying on allusions to literary sources that his American readership would have been familiar with, due to their coverage in the *Galaxy*, James is able to imply a relationship between American and Italian perceptions of women and marriage. The theme of a woman trapped in an unhappy marriage was one James returned to in his later fiction, most notably in *Portrait of a Lady*, yet this early example of the theme emphasises the comparison between the romance of his narrator's imagination – both Lucrezia Borgia and Bianca Capello eloped with their lovers from their husbands – and the reality he is confronted with when the signora gives an account of her marriage. Notably, once the signora begins to reveal her own tale, the allusions to sources of culture disappear.

James explores the signora's situation through the lens of an American viewing her behaviour, and in doing so, is able to provide a commentary on the contrasts between Old and New World attitudes to manners regarding women's social freedom – prime subject matter for his readership. The following exchange highlights the signora's concern about how her behaviour appears to the narrator:

"I like you – you're an honest man – you don't try to make love to me [...] What is said in your country of a woman who travels alone at night without even a servant?"

"Nothing is said. It's very common."

"Ah! Women must be very happy there, or very unhappy! Is it never supposed of a woman that she has a lover? That is the worst of all."

"Fewer things are 'supposed' of women there than here. They live more in the broad daylight of life. They make their own law." (Isella, 330).

For the *Galaxy* reader, this exchange is reminiscent of Justin McCarthy's article 'American Women and Englishwomen', in which he states '[t]here is hardly an American girl in any city of the Union who does not every day do things which society in England, to say nothing of France or Germany,

would not allow her to attempt without holding up the hands and eyes of wonder and dismay' (AWE, 33). As an observer of European life from an American perspective, the narrator views the behaviour of the signora from a more liberated point of view, thus leaving her free from moral judgement, at least in his eyes.

After this exchange, the signora gives her own sad account of her marriage, of being 'given over blind-folded, bound hand and foot to that brute', her husband, whom she describes as being 'a peasant, with the soul of a peasant – the taste, the manners, the vices of a peasant', despite having 'made a fortune in trade' (Isella, 333-4). She suggests that in America, things are different: 'The idea of people not being happy in marriage, you'll say to her!' she says, talking of his fiancée (Isella, 336). But she is keen to emphasise that despite leaving her husband now she has 'been good', and 'not trifled with [her] duties' (Isella, 335). The violent description of her arranged marriage, and the emphasis on her matrimonial duties brings to mind J. S. Mill's *The Subjection of Women*, which emphasises the wrongfulness of the principle of 'the legal subordination of one sex to the other'.¹⁶⁴ Mill writes of the contrast between the women's rights movements in America and Europe, saying that 'not only is it in our own country and in America that women are beginning to protest, more or less collectively, against the disabilities under which they labour. France, and Italy, and Switzerland, and Russia now afford examples of the same thing' (Mill, 147). Mill's emphasis on the contrast between Anglo-American and European attitudes to marriage is clear here, but in James' tale, and elsewhere in the pages of the *Galaxy*, the land of Switzerland has associations of being close enough to American values. Keen to help the signora escape, the narrator willingly parts with the money she needs to get a carriage to her lover in Geneva; it is certainly fitting that it is American money that gives her the chance to escape to freedom in Switzerland – the "land of liberty". The fact that it was in Switzerland that James had read J.S. Mill's *The Subjection of Women* makes this an apt choice of country for her to elope to.

James' intention in his depiction of the exchange between the narrator and the signora seems to be to provide a view of Italian attitudes to marriage that reassures its American readership that it is

¹⁶⁴ John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869), 133, hereafter Mill.

reading this from a more comfortable and liberal position across the Atlantic. Interesting as it is, 'At Isella' pales in comparison to the tale that preceded it, 'Travelling Companions'; it seems odd that James would go on to write a story that was drastically simpler in both structure and style. It is important to note that James himself evidently didn't think much of the tale himself, as shown by his discussion of it in his letter to Grace Norton, and the fact that he never reprinted it once in his lifetime. Nonetheless, one should not dismiss the tale out of hand. When one examines the tale more closely, and considers the context within which he was writing the tale, despite its relative lack of sophistication, and disjointed composition, it is certainly a piece of writing that gives us an insight into how James went about composing his tales, and his approach to exploring the relationships between culture and character. This was a relationship that he developed in the following years. In his next tale, 'The Madonna of the Future', he used it to explore American attitudes towards the role of the artist influenced by Italy in shaping the cultural landscape of the United States.

Chapter Four. The Ideal and the Real: American Art and the Renaissance Past in 'The Madonna of the Future' (1873)

'The Madonna of the Future' differs from its predecessors drastically in terms of how it portrays Italian culture. Here the emphasis is not on the experience of the tourist, as in 'At Isella' and 'Travelling Companions', but on the influential role Italian social and artistic culture plays in shaping the work, or lack thereof, of America's artists. The story is told by a young American, only referred to as H. (perhaps James referring to himself), who arrives in Florence and meets an American artist named Theobald with a striking physical resemblance to Raphael. They quickly strike up a friendship based on a mutual appreciation of art, and wander the galleries and churches of Florence, with Theobald waxing lyrical about the "ideal" and "actual" in art. He reveals he has a masterpiece on the go, which H. dubs "*The Madonna of the Future*" (MF, 23). However, upon spending time with other American expatriates, H. comes to realise that Theobald is not as productive in his creative output as he is in his monologues on what makes a great artist. Theobald dismisses their criticisms as snobbery, and invites H. to meet his muse, Serafina, whom he believes to still be a beautiful woman, but who turns out to have grown much older than H. expects. Upon meeting her, H. realises just how much Theobald has procrastinated, and tells him he has waited too long to paint her, as she is now too old to represent the Madonna. Theobald becomes disillusioned with his life's work, falls ill, and dies – having never painted the picture he had talked so much about.

Towards the end of the tale, H. encounters a modern artist, who sells miniature plastic sculpture of cats and monkeys in human positions, and who, in his commercial productiveness, serves as a foil to Theobald's idealist procrastination. Theobald and the Italian "artist" represent two kinds of creators, the 'idealist' in Theobald, and the crude commercialist in the Italian. As Edward Wagenknacht notes, Theobald 'is made more attractive by being juxtaposed to the loathsome "successful" sculptor',¹⁶⁵ whilst Viola Hopkins Winner argues 'Theobald fails because he does not realise that art requires craft and a more direct, immediate relation to life, his model [...] On the

¹⁶⁵ Edward Wagenknacht, *The Tales of Henry James* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1984), 3.

other hand [...] the skillfully imitative materialistic artist who does not believe in intellectual beauty at all degrades reality. We are not cats and monkeys.¹⁶⁶ Most criticism has focused on this contrast.

However, another key element of the tale is the way Theobald's obsession with Renaissance art distracts him from engaging with the modern world and the art marketplace. Many critics have mentioned some of the key references, as will be seen throughout this chapter, but few have considered them as a whole. They tend to focus on either the references to either literature *or* art, and rarely both. A prime example of this is Cornelia Kelley, who acknowledges the tale 'caught its germs from or was influenced by Balzac's *Le Chef d'Oeuvre Inconnu* and also Musset's *Lorenzaccio*', but neglects the majority of the other references.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, Adeline Tintner makes many vital connections in *The Museum World of Henry James* that identify Theobald with Raphael, but at the expense of the literary references.¹⁶⁸ By focusing on the cultural references in the tale as a whole as they relate to the narrative, I aim to show how James uses these to build up a portrait of the Renaissance that contrasts sharply with the nineteenth-century art world. James does this through using direct references and quotes from texts and paintings throughout, thereby encouraging his readers to refer to the texts or reproductions of the art he was writing about.

The tale is predominantly concerned with the relationship between the creative output of artists in Renaissance Florence and nineteenth-century America, drawing parallels between the roles of artists and their models and patrons in the two ages, to explore the changes between them. As in 'Travelling Companions' and 'At Isella', James uses references to different forms of culture. What is most noticeable in this story is just how many different forms he uses. Fiction, non-fiction, drama, sculpture, and painting all figure in this tale, often used to emphasise the difference in the attitudes of Theobald and H., the tale's narrator; generally, Theobald refers to poetry and works of fiction that idealise the Renaissance, whilst H. refers to historical works of non-fiction that deal with its reality.

¹⁶⁶ Viola Hopkins Winner, *Henry James and the Visual Arts* (Charlottesville: Press of University of Virginia, 1970), 97.

¹⁶⁷ Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley, *The Early Development of Henry James* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 149, hereafter Kelley.

¹⁶⁸ Adeline Tintner, *The Museum World of Henry James* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 27-30, hereafter *MWHJ*.

James thus returns to the dichotomy between the real and the imagined that was such a key feature of 'At Isella' and 'Travelling Companions', exploring it in the context of the ideal and actual in art. I am using these terms synonymously with Idealism and Realism. In his essay on the tale, Arthur C. Danto uses a lithograph by Daumier depicting *The Battle of the Schools: Realism versus Classical Idealism* to illustrate the distinction between the two terms in the art world (fig. 33).¹⁶⁹ Within the tale, the terms are relevant to their definitions in the artistic sense, but also relate more broadly to the attitudes of H. and Theobald; the former being a realist, concerned with practicalities, the latter an idealist concerned with abstractions. The tale deals with this debate about idealism and realism in art, moreover, in a way that James' magazine readers would be familiar with.

(fig. 33), Honoré Daumier, *The Battle of the Schools: Realism versus Classical Idealism* (1855).

¹⁶⁹ Arthur C. Danto, 'The Future of the Madonna', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 19, Issue 2 (1998), 113-125, 123, hereafter Danto. See also, Barbara Novak, *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century: Realism, Idealism and the American Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

The story has the privilege of being the earliest Italian tale James revised for the New York Edition.¹⁷⁰ In 1904, he wrote of it and 'A Passionate Pilgrim':

I disengage from them but one thing, their betrayal of their consolatory use. The deep beguilement of the lost vision recovered, in comparative indigence, by a certain inexpert intensity of art – the service rendered by them at need, with whatever awkwardness and difficulty – sticks out of them for me to the exclusion of everything else and consecrates them, I freely admit, to memory.¹⁷¹

The 'consolatory use' James refers to here is the comfort he found in writing about Europe whilst not actually being there. His personal correspondence around the time of composition includes an abundance of letters to Grace and Charles Eliot Norton, who were living in Florence, in which James writes repeatedly of his yearning to be back in the city, particularly in a letter dated January 16th, 1871:

It was but a few days ago that I sate on that little knee-high parapet of your Bellosguardo gazing-place and saw beneath me the ample hollow of the mountain circle filled with Florence & beauty – like an alms-giving hand with gold. The day before I stood on the terrace of San Miniato & saw the landscape steaming with iridescent vapors – as if on every hillside I had kindled a fire of sacrificial thanks for Italy. But you will be amused at receiving instructions in Florentine landscape from Cambridge! (CL1855-72:2, 387-8).

The act of imagining being in Florence is suggestive of James' attitude to Italy during the period; that if one can't be there, one may as well write about it in order to feel closer to it.

James also wrote in the same letter of having read articles 'by your two friends F. Harrison & J. Morley, on Bismark & Byron respectively' in the London-based *Fortnightly Review* (CL1855-72:2, 392). Although it is not certain whether or not the James family ever subscribed to the *Fortnightly Review*, Glen MacLeod's bibliography of the family's borrowing records from the Boston Athenaeum

¹⁷⁰ I am limiting my discussion to the magazine/first book edition of the tale, although I will be noting places in the revised New York Edition that have significance for my argument.

¹⁷¹ Henry James, 'Preface to the New York Edition of "The Reverberator", "Madame de Mauves", "A Passionate Pilgrim", "The Madonna of the Future", & "Louisa Pallant"', in *Literary Criticism: French Writers, Other European Writers, The Prefaces to the New York Edition* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 1192-1207, 1206, hereafter PMF.

showed they regularly took out the periodical.¹⁷² James also wrote to his family in 1869 of having met 'Dr. Brydges [...] of the Fortnightly Review group' and 'the politico-economists of the Fortnightly Review' in London, indicating his family were at least familiar with the publication (*CL1855-72:1*, 235, 248). As a reader of the journal, James was quite likely to have read there Walter Pater's articles on the Renaissance, the majority of which were later to be collected in his *Studies of the History of the Renaissance* (1873). Alwyn Berland incorrectly dates the tale when he writes that 'Studies [...] was published in 1873. James's "The Madonna of the Future" (1875) was written under its influence', but since James seems to have been a regular reader of the *Fortnightly Review*, there may well be some weight to this claim that James wrote the tale with Pater's ideas in mind.¹⁷³ When Pater's *Studies* were eventually published in book form in 1873, James wrote to his brother on May 31st that he 'saw Pater's *Studies*, just after getting your letter, in the English bookseller's window: and was inflamed to think of buying it & trying a notice.' He goes on, '[b]ut I see it treats of several things I know nothing about' (*CL1872-76:1*, 307), suggesting that he had not read every article the book contained. William James had asked on May 11th if James had 'seen the Fortnightly Review in Rome. If so you will have read a big little article by [John] Morley on Pater, whose book Alice has been reading & pronounces exquisite'.¹⁷⁴ This again demonstrates the James family's interest in Pater's work and the *Fortnightly Review*, and whilst James may have felt that he did not know enough about the subject matter of the whole book, its influence can still be felt in James' tale.

Walter Pater published the majority of the contents of *Studies* as articles in the *Fortnightly Review* between 1867 and 1871¹⁷⁵. His observations about the Renaissance were largely made in the light

¹⁷² Glen MacLeod, 'The James Family and the Boston Athenaeum: A Bibliography', in *Resources for American Literary Studies*, Vol. 29 (2005), 89-140, 138. Whilst not every volume taken out corresponds to those that contained articles by Pater, it is also possible that James may have read the articles in question in the library itself.

¹⁷³ Alwyn Berland, *Culture and Conduct in the Novels of Henry James* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 26.

¹⁷⁴ William James, *The Correspondence of William James, Vol. 1: William and Henry 1861-1884*, ed. by Ignas K. Skrupskelis & Elizabeth M. Berkeley (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 203, hereafter *CWJ*.

¹⁷⁵ Of the nine chapters, six appeared in periodicals, the five in the *Fortnightly Review* being 'Pico Della Mirandola', 'Sandro Botticelli', 'The Poetry of Michaelangelo', 'Leonardo Da Vinci', and the 'Conclusion'. 'Winckelmann' appeared in the *Westminster Review* in 1867. Walter Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, ed. by Matthew Beaumont (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), n146, n149, n152, n156, n166, n177.

of its relationship to classical art, viewing it as a continuation of the Hellenic tradition. Since James' tale was written before the publication of the *Studies* in book form, I will limit myself to specific articles as opposed to the book and its argument as a whole. Elements of Pater's attitudes to the Renaissance, particularly from his articles on Michaelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, can be found in James' tale. In combination with the attitudes of critics James was already familiar with, Ruskin and Taine, Pater seems to have shaped the details of how James wrote about the Renaissance in his tale. As will be seen, the tale focuses heavily on the works of Raphael, and Michaelangelo. By examining how these critics wrote about the paintings that James refers to, I hope to illuminate the way James' readership might have read these references. Firstly I will discuss James' own attitude to American art at the time in relation to his writing on art in the *Atlantic Monthly*, then go on to explore the way James makes use of all these elements in the tale itself.

Publishing Context

It is hard to know exactly when James wrote 'The Madonna of the Future'. On January 8th 1873, he wrote to his brother that he was 'now doing something for the *Atlantic*', which the *Complete Letters* suggests was 'probably "The Madonna of the Future"' (*CL1872-76:1*, 181, n185). However, William Dean Howells wrote to James on March 10th of that year that he had just received James' 'Roman romance', suggesting that it was in fact 'The Last of the Valerii' that James was writing at the time.¹⁷⁶ In fact, it was in September of 1872 that Howells wrote to James to say that 'I think I shall put the Florentine story into January', although the tale didn't appear until the March issue (*LFL*, 75). Since James writes of the tale in the New York Edition Preface as being a product of the 'summer [...] of '72', it is safe to assume that he wrote it on his return to Europe; some time between March and August, but before he arrived back in Italy in December 1872 (*PMF*, 1206).¹⁷⁷ On July the 14th, he wrote to Charles Eliot Norton of his responsibilities 'as a littérateur in a general sense of the word.

¹⁷⁶ Michael Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 79, hereafter *LFL*.

¹⁷⁷ Carl Maves seems to have this as a source when he writes that James wrote the tale in Paris. Carl Maves, *Sensuous Pessimism: Italy in the Works of Henry James* (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press), 26, but James was only in Paris for a few days in the Summer of '72, so this also seems unlikely (*CL1872-76:1*, lxii).

(This last means that I have been trying in the mornings to do a little work.), which may be an allusion to his writing the tale (*CL1872-76:1*, 47).

In January of 1873, his father wrote to him about the corrected proofs to the tale, from which Howells had removed elements of the tale that he thought ‘risky for the magazine’.¹⁷⁸ These included a section ‘in which Theobald tells of his love for, and his visit from the Titian-ic beauty, and his subsequent disgust of her worthlessness’ and ‘the interview at the end between the writer and the old English neighbor’, which was, in Howells’ opinion, ‘rubbing into the reader what was sufficiently evident without it’ (HJSr., 1). The deletion of these episodes is frustrating, as no original manuscript for the tale seems to have survived, but from the small amount of information Henry James Sr. gives us, it is possible to guess where the episodes were placed in the story, as I shall argue later. The letter also contains a paragraph in which James Sr. writes of Howells’ desire that James should contribute an article ‘every month’, saying that ‘he thinks the Atlantic would be a better place for you than the Nation, as your name would be published along with the articles, you would have four times the number of readers’ (HJSr., 2). James’ literary reputation was evidently growing by this stage, and the letter shows Howells’ eagerness to fuel this process, especially when James Sr. writes that Howells thought James ‘ought to publish a volume under the title of Romances forthwith [...] You have a large number of admirers, that is evident; and I suspect the volume might be remunerative’ (HJSr., 2).

Howells’ desire that James should write for the *Atlantic* ‘every month’ also shows how much in keeping with the subject matter the magazine dealt with James’ fiction, reviews, and travel writings were. In the context of what James had contributed over the previous year to the magazine, ‘The Madonna of the Future’ can be seen as highlighting a theme that James himself had brought to the fore under the instruction of Howells: the state of the American art world. In January 1872, six months after Howells had taken over the editorship of the magazine, the *Atlantic* was restructured in terms of content. Howells introduced several new sections to the latter half of the magazine, devoted to Literature, Art, Music, and Politics. These served to bring into focus America’s role in

¹⁷⁸ Henry James Sr., Letter to Henry James (14th Jan. [1873]), James Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., ed. by Pierre A. Walker et al. 2005, Salem State College, <http://www.dearhenryjames.org>, hereafter HJSr..

these various fields on the world stage. James wrote to Charles Eliot Norton on the 4th of February 1872 that 'Howells is making a very careful and business-like editor of the Atlantic. As a proof of his energy, he has induced me to write a monthly report of the Fine Arts in Boston!! It's pitiful work and I shall of course soon collapse for want of material' (CL1855-72:2, 437). James' assertion that he'd soon be in 'want of material' suggests that he did not think there was much worthwhile art to discuss.¹⁷⁹

In January 1872, James' contribution was a review of a series of French paintings at the rooms of 'Doll and Rickard', which included artists such as Delacroix and Rousseau. James praises many of the paintings, particularly those by Delacroix, but finishes the article by addressing 'a few words to the three or four American pictures lately visible in the same rooms'.¹⁸⁰ These three paintings were his friend John La Farge's *The Last Valley* (fig. 34), an unnamed portrait by Rufus Porter, and Elihu Vedder's *Dancing Girl* (fig. 35). These are possibly the most diverse of the American paintings James was to write about in the coming months, landscapes such as La Farge's being the ones he described the most. He praises La Farge's painting as being 'full of the most refined intentions and the most beautiful results [...] which might have been painted by a less sceptical Decamps', whilst Porter's painting is 'a purely American product, the author's opportunity for study having been such only as our own country affords' (HJ:ArtJan, 117). This contrast between the two demonstrates the variation in painting style between those who travelled to Europe, and those who stayed within the States. With regard to Vedder's Pre-Raphaelite *Dancing Girl*, he writes that it is 'a little pictorial lyric, as we have heard it called, on the theme of faded stuffs' (HJ:ArtJan, 118). James' limited discussion of the paintings doesn't allow him much space for comparison of the artists. However, a contributor to the *Galaxy* wrote of Vedder and La Farge that La Farge was 'spiritualistic in feeling [...] A flower painted by him [...] is an exhibition of its highest possibilities of being rather than of its present material organization', whilst Vedder, 'now in Rome[,] has more of the creative faculty,

¹⁷⁹ John L. Sweeney has collected a number of James' essays in *The Painter's Eye*; I also consider two that he doesn't publish in full, although he does acknowledge them in an appendix. Henry James, *The Painter's Eye: Notes and Essays on the Pictorial Arts*, ed. by John L. Sweeney (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1956), 43-49, 50-51, 52-66, 262-4.

¹⁸⁰ Henry James, 'Art', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 29, Issue 171 (Jan. 1872), 115-118, 117, hereafter HJ:ArtJan.



(fig. 34), Elihu Vedder, *Dancing Girl* (1871), Reynolda House Museum of American Art, Winston-Salem, NC.



(fig. 35), John La Farge, *The Lost Valley* (1867-68), National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

imbued with a nice sense of wit, than any other American painter.’¹⁸¹ This discussion of their ability to idealise the objects they painted is reminiscent of Theobald’s many discussions of the ideal in art, and appropriately J. Jackson Jarves, the author of the article, wrote of Vedder that ‘it is the duty of the American public to bring to bear on him all possible pressure to work persistently. [...] America may then take a secure position in the art of the world, provided that the new genius will resolutely discipline itself by systematic study and labor’ (MA, 55).

An unidentified writer for the Art section of the *Atlantic* wrote a similar call to arms, or tools, when they commented that it was ‘through the identification of the artist with the artisan [...] that we can reach a period of truly healthy art in this country; a period when grace and beauty shall make themselves felt in common things – in the shaping of furniture and utensils [...] – to such a degree that our daily thoughts may be led easily and gladly to nature and the delights of living’.¹⁸² This idea of the craft and practice of art being so vital to the health of America’s cultural output was a key issue for critics of the time. In April 1872, the writer of the Art section discussed the limitations of the recently deceased artist Richard H. Fuller, who had never fully reached his potential as an artist: ‘[h]is limitations arose in a great measure from his want of opportunity to study. He had to support himself and his family by the hard labor of a night-watchman, thus reducing his vitality [...]. It is evident he had not reached the period of his artistic maturity’.¹⁸³ The emphasis on the time involved in the practice of art is a key aspect of writing on art in this particular period, so it is fitting that James would go on to write a tale about the importance of practising one’s art, especially when he was undergoing a similar literary apprenticeship himself at the time.

These articles demonstrate the pressures American artists were under at the time, and James’ own writings continue in much the same vein, although his writings always consider the influence of European art; in February, he writes:

Apropos of the establishment of a free system of elementary art education in Massachusetts there has lately been an exhibition, [...] of drawings by pupils of schools

¹⁸¹ J. Jackson Jarves, ‘Museums of Art’, in *Galaxy*, Vol. 10, Issue 1 (July 1870), 50-59, 54, hereafter MA.

¹⁸² Anon, ‘Art’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 30, Issue 177 (July 1872), 119-121, 121.

¹⁸³ Anon, ‘Art’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 29, Issue 174 (April 1872), 505-507, 507.

of art abroad. [...] [T]he chief interest of the exhibition came, of course, from the opportunity it offered of comparing the methods and results of the three systems of popular art education most likely to serve as an example in our own case.¹⁸⁴

James consistently discusses the role that European art on display in America plays in shaping the culture of his own country, writing the next month of the French influence on Porter Cole's paintings: 'if we had not been otherwise informed, we should have taken them all for the produce of a French studio.'¹⁸⁵ Cole's work, he felt 'hovers [...] rather too fondly just below the line which separates a study from a picture, and it decidedly gains when it shows a tendency to rise higher [...] "Arrangement" in art has been much abused, but is surely the soul of the matter; the point is of course to make it include the fullest measure of truth' (HJ:ArtMarch, 372).

Idealism in painting in order to portray something truthful was an idea that James was evidently interested in at this stage in his writing – in the June issue, he writes that not one of the Dutch and Flemish paintings on display in New York

has anything that one may call imagination. [...] Imagination is not a quality to recommend; we bow low to it when we meet it, but we are wary of introducing it into well-regulated intellects. We prefer to assume that our generous young art students possess it, and content ourselves with directing them to the charming little academy for lessons in observation and execution.¹⁸⁶

The use of the word 'observation' recalls James' use of the word in "Travelling Companions" and 'At Isella', where the tourist must observe in order to learn more about the social milieu of Europe; the lessons to be learned from Italy were both moral and artistic. Similarly, George S. Hillard wrote in an eulogy to Thomas Crawford that it was 'natural and inevitable' for an artist 'with such aspirations and powers, who had exhausted all the resources for education in art which his country

¹⁸⁴ Henry James, 'Art', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 29, Issue 172 (Feb. 1872), 244-247, 244.

¹⁸⁵ Henry James, 'Art: Boston', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 29, Issue 173 (March 1872), 372-374, 372, hereafter HJ:ArtMarch.

¹⁸⁶ Henry James, 'Art: The Dutch and Flemish Pictures in New York', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 29, Issue 176 (June 1872), 757-763, 763.

had afforded' to move to Italy.¹⁸⁷ In this context of such a shared self-consciousness about the best path for American art, it is not surprising that James should go on to write a tale about the impact of European exposure on the artistic output of America.

The artist to whom James most closely pays attention in the story is Raphael. A number of articles in both the *Atlantic* and other magazines make reference to his works, particularly the *Madonna della Seggiola* or *Madonna of the Chair*, which plays such an important role in the tale – the title of which, of course, James deliberately echoes. Copies of this painting by various American artists – including Rembrandt Peale – were displayed in the Boston Athenaeum throughout the century.¹⁸⁸ As discussed in Chapter One (p. 40), Alfred Guernsey, the editor of *Harper's*, praised a copyist of Raphael's *Madonna of the Chair*, which highlighted the important role copies of paintings played in offering Americans unable to travel to Europe first-hand the opportunity to see copies of famous works of art. However, a writer for the *Galaxy* strongly contested the claim that it was a worthy pursuit to copy such paintings, arguing that '[t]he "Seggiola:" is one of the most perfect works that ever came from the great master's hand [...] No man can change a line of Raphael's composition, or alter a tint of his colouring, without destroying the individuality and, of course, the value of his work.'¹⁸⁹ This demonstrates not only the importance of the work to nineteenth-century audiences, but also the debatable value of the act of copying such masterpieces. In James' tale, Theobald's act of repeatedly copying the painting is not as important to American culture as his desire to create new art, and the demand for this from his patrons. The influence of the Renaissance was more important in this sense, and many articles made the habit of comparing the work of contemporary American artists to that of Raphael and other Italian masters. Sarah Clarke praised Washington Allston in this way, writing with reference to a portrait by Raphael that '[t]hough it may and will seem extravagant, I am satisfied that there are several heads by Allston that would lose nothing by

¹⁸⁷ George S. Hillard, 'Thomas Crawford: a Eulogy', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 24, Issue 141 (July 1869), 40-54, 42.

¹⁸⁸ This includes its being displayed in the 1874 exhibition, suggesting that the curators wanted to display it after the publication of James' tale. Robert F. Perkins, Jr. & William J. Gavin III, *The Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index: 1827-1874* (Boston, MA: The Library of the Boston Athenaeum, 1980), 114-5, hereafter *BAEI*.

¹⁸⁹ S. S. C., 'Fine Arts', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 8, Issue 2 (Aug. 1869), 286-287, 287.

comparison with this admirable work'.¹⁹⁰ Adeline Tintner has suggested Allston's *Belshazzar's Feast* (fig. 36) as a source for James' concept of a tale about an unfinished masterpiece, which Clarke describes as being 'found to be in a disorganized, almost chaotic state' (FGP, 139), although there are problems with this claim, as Theobald's painting is never even started.¹⁹¹



(fig. 36), Washington Allston, *Belshazzar's Feast* (1817-43), Detroit Institute of Arts.

In addition to these main themes, elsewhere in the magazine there are other allusions to subject matter that James deals with in his tale. A review of Mrs. Owen Wister's translation of *Selections from the Prose and Poetry of Alfred de Musset*, praises her for 'a commendable effort to introduce a much-loved French poet to the English-reading public', an effort James continues with his own translation of a section from de Musset's *Lorenzaccio* in the tale.¹⁹² Browning's *The Ring and the Book* came under review in February 1869, the reviewer noting that '[n]o poet of this generation has approached Robert Browning in the richness and originality of his plots', before making a side

¹⁹⁰ Sarah Clarke, 'Our First Great Painter, and his Works', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 15, Issue 88 (Feb. 1865), 129-140, 132, hereafter FGP.

¹⁹¹ Adeline Tintner, *The Book World of Henry James* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987), 70.

¹⁹² Anon, 'Review of *Selections from the Prose and Poetry of Alfred de Musset*', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 26, Issue 155 (Sept. 1870), 379-381, 379.

note of 'the professional models whose faces and forms, now bright, now brown, reappear at every academy exhibition.'¹⁹³ This acknowledges the presence of the model in art, and how artists choose to idealise these real figures in painting, elements that, as we shall see, James builds on in the tale through directly referencing Browning, and in the character of Serafina. Another article on 'Americanism in Literature' went further in questioning the role *milieu* played in the creation of literature, asking of Browning 'was it in England or Italy that he learned to sound the depths of all human emotion?'¹⁹⁴ All of these acknowledge elements of the creative process that help to shape an artist's work, be it in painting or in literature. James builds on this relationship between the creation of art and literature in the early stages of his tale, when he introduces both the narrator and Theobald.

Poetry and Prose / The Ideal and the Actual: James' presentation of Theobald and H.

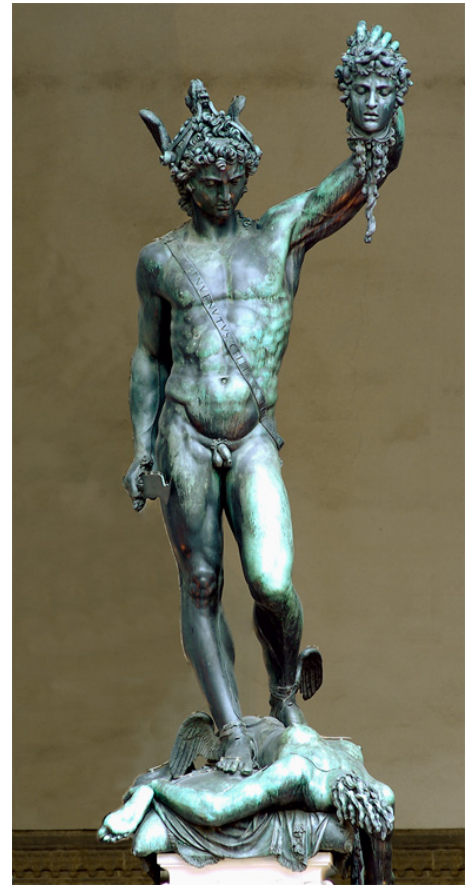
The tale focuses on Theobald, through the eyes of the narrator, H., and James tries to establish H. as a reliable narrator. This echoes the approach he employed to establish the differences between Miss Evans and Mr. Brooke in 'Travelling Companions', by associating one with 'poetry' and the other with prose. He does this in 'The Madonna of the Future' in the first encounter between H. and Theobald, by making reference to two texts: Cellini's autobiography, and Browning's 'Pictor Ignotus' from *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics* (1845).¹⁹⁵ Notably one is fact, the other is fiction, and it is important to differentiate between the two when one considers that it is Theobald who favours the poetic, fictional account of an artist, whilst H. prefers to make allusions to a factual biography, albeit one in which Cellini notoriously exaggerated his claims. Therefore H. appears to be presented as a man who deals with fact and reality, whilst Theobald seems a more fanciful character.

¹⁹³ Anon, 'Review of Robert Browning's *The Ring and the Book*', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 23, Issue 136 (Feb. 1869), 256-159, 259.

¹⁹⁴ T. W. Higginson, 'Americanism in Literature', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 25, Issue 147 (Jan. 1870), 56-63, 59.

¹⁹⁵ *The Complete Letters of Henry James* contains an erroneous note saying that the poem was in Browning's 1855 collection, *Men and Women* (CL1855-72:2, n156).

It is through H.'s eyes that the reader first encounters Theobald, on his first night in Florence. He leaves his hotel for a late night stroll, fancying that 'tired traveler though I was, I might pay the city a finer compliment than by going vulgarly to bed' (MF, 12). He comes across the Piazza della Signoria, quite by chance, and observes the figures of Michaelangelo's *David* and Cellini's *Perseus* (fig. 37); 'a figure supremely shapely and graceful; gentle, almost, in spite of his holding out with his light nervous arm the snaky head of the slaughtered Gorgon. His name is Perseus, and you may read his story, not in the Greek mythology, but in the memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini' (MF, 12). James is careful here to direct the reader to Cellini's account of the statue's making, not the Greek myth. The memoir's treatment of the statue is not concerned with the artistic vision behind the sculpture, but with the practical hurdles that Cellini had to overcome with his 'usual obstinacy' in order to finally create it.¹⁹⁶ It took nine years to make, through his 'meeting always the same old difficulties – no money, and every kind of hindrance thrown in [his] way', but was considered his masterpiece (Cellini, 377).



(fig. 37), Benvenuto Cellini, *Perseus* (1545), Piazza della Signoria, Florence.

Taine wrote of Cellini's sculpture that '[t]he renaissance statuary certainly revives or continues the antique statuary, not the earliest, that of Phidias, who is calm and wholly divine, but the later, that of Lysippus who aims at the human.'¹⁹⁷ In describing the Gorgon's corpse, he continues to praise its 'wonderful fidelity to nature! The woman is really dead; her limbs and joints have suddenly become relaxed; the arm hangs languidly, the body is contorted and the leg drawn up in agony. Underneath

¹⁹⁶ Benvenuto Cellini, *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini*, trans. by Anne McDonnell (London & New York: Everyman's Library, 2010), 377, hereafter Cellini.

¹⁹⁷ Hippolyte Taine, *Italy: Florence and Venice*, trans. by J. Durand (New York: Holt and Williams, 1869), 88, hereafter *I: FV*.

[...] stand four exquisite Bronze statuettes with all the living nudity of the antique' (*I: FV*, 88). In light of H. and Theobald's later discussions of the "Ideal" and "Actual" in art, Taine's praise of its faithfulness to nature is particularly notable. The myth of Perseus and Medusa itself may well act as an analogy for Cellini's completion of the work. He has to overcome many instances of problems with his patron that could well have paralysed his work. The reference to the statue and Cellini's tale points the reader towards this reading of the tale, foreshadowing what we will see in Theobald, himself frozen in a state of procrastination.

It is at this point that H. encounters Theobald for the first time, an instant after praising the sculpture. He describes Theobald as 'a small, slim personage, clad in a sort of black velvet tunic (as it seemed), and with a mass of auburn hair, which gleamed in the moonlight, escaping from a little medieval berretta' (MF, 12). For any reader familiar with the works of Raphael, this was undoubtedly a reference to his 1506 self-portrait (fig. 38), which hangs in the Uffizi Gallery, as Tintner has pointed out (*MWHJ*, 28).¹⁹⁸



(fig. 38), Raphael, *Self-Portrait* (1504-6) Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

Notably, James revised this for the New York Edition to: 'a little beretto of the

cinquecento', a slightly more accurate dating of the hat in line with Raphael's life.¹⁹⁹ The association of the black hat with Raphael is also referred to in Balzac's 1833 tale, 'Le Chef d'Oeuvre Inconnu',

¹⁹⁸ Two copies of the painting had been on display in the Boston Athenaeum. These were on display in 1850 and 1840, but considering the popularity of Raphael, it is likely they were still in circulation at the time James was writing (*BAEI*, 114).

¹⁹⁹ Henry James, 'The Madonna of the Future', in *The New York Edition: Vol. 19* (London: Macmillan, 1922), 393-442, 397, hereafter MF:NYE.

where the painter Frenhofer – whom Theobald resembles – ‘remov[es] his black velvet cap to express his respect for this monarch of art’.²⁰⁰

Raphael is a key choice for James to employ as the artist Theobald models himself on; Raphael was praised by Vasari not only for his skill as an artist, but also for his charming character: ‘[n]o less excellent than graceful, he was endowed by nature with all that modesty and goodness which may occasionally be perceived in those few favoured persons who enhance the gracious sweetness of a disposition more than usually gentle, by the fair ornament of a winning amenity’.²⁰¹ Bette Talvacchia writes that the biographies of both Vasari and Raphael’s earlier biographer, Paolo Giovio, come to us embedded in comments on Raphael’s charm and grace, so that from the start legends formed around the interconnected phenomena of the artist’s career and his compelling personal qualities. This approach was to have a determining effect on the critical interpretation of Raphael’s art in the following centuries.²⁰²

Theobald is certainly charming – H. writes that he ‘might have passed for the genius of aesthetic hospitality’ (MF, 12-3), but he lacks the artistic output of Raphael.

H. is at first suspicious of Theobald’s intentions in approaching him. Once they have ascertained that they are both American, H. hailing from New York, Theobald proclaims that New Yorkers ‘have been munificent patrons of art!’ (MF, 14).²⁰³ H. questions Theobald’s motives in a way that assumes that an American is primarily concerned with commerce: ‘[w]as this midnight reverie mere Yankee enterprise, and was he simply a desperate brother of the brush who had posted himself here to

²⁰⁰ Honoré de Balzac, ‘The Unknown Masterpiece’, in *The Unknown Masterpiece and Gambara*, trans. by Richard Howard (New York: New York Review Books, 2001), 3–44, 15. See also Philip Horne’s discussion of the relation of Balzac’s tale to James’: Philip Horne, *Henry James and Revision* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 117–128.

²⁰¹ Giorgio Vasari, *The Great Works of Raphael Sanzio of Urbino*, trans. by Mrs. Jonathan Foster (London: Bell and Daldy, 1866), 1. This edition also contained many engravings of Raphael’s works, including the Madonna della Seddia (Vasari, 40).

²⁰² Bette Talvacchia, *Raphael* (London: Phaidon Press, 2007), 8.

²⁰³ In the New York Edition, James edits this to “‘New-Yorkers have often been munificent patrons of art!’ he answered *urbanely*’ (MF:NYE, 397, emphasis my own). The use of the word ‘urbanely’ not only echoes Raphael’s name, Raphael of Urbino, but the definition of the word, ‘elegant and refined in manners’ creates a connection between Theobald’s personality, and Raphael’s. *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

extort an “order” from a sauntering tourist?’ (MF, 14). Yet Theobald bemoans the literal and cultural milieu of America for not being able to nurture great art: ‘[o]ur crude and garish climate, our silent past, our deafening present, the constant pressure about us of unlovely circumstance, are as void of all that nourishes and prompts and inspires the artist, as my sad heart is void of bitterness in saying so! We poor aspirants must live in perpetual exile’ (MF, 15). There is a touch of Taine in his rhetoric of the use of the term “climate” to explain the way Americans are the ‘disinherited of Art’ (MF, 15). In blaming the environment of America for its lack of creative output, he is being rather un-enterprising, a decidedly un-American trait. In contrast, H. says that ‘[n]othing is so idle as to talk about our want of a nutritive soil, of opportunity, or inspiration, and all the rest of it. The worthy part is to do something fine! [...] Be you our Moses, [...] and lead us out of the house of bondage’ (MF, 15). H.’s words here echo the sentiments of Emerson in his essay ‘Self-Reliance’,²⁰⁴ and he again asserts the Yankee spirit of enterprise, when he asks if Theobald has been ‘very productive all this time?’ (MF, 16).

Theobald rebuts this by replying ‘not in the vulgar sense’ (MF, 16). He boasts ‘with some satisfaction, that I have not added a mite to the rubbish of the world. [...] My little studio has never been profaned by superficial, feverish, mercenary work.’ (MF, 16). He seems to derive his conception of what makes a good artist from Browning’s poem, ‘Pictor Ignotus’ (Painter Unknown), quoting the line ‘[a]t least no merchant traffics in my heart!’, before referring directly to ‘the line in Browning’ (MF, 16). The reference to the poem is in opposition to H.’s reference to Cellini’s autobiography; the latter is a direct account from the hand of a specific Renaissance sculptor, whilst Browning’s poem is a fictional Victorian account of an unknown Renaissance painter. The poem itself is a monologue from the perspective of a sixteenth-century artist who refuses to paint in the manner of a younger, more commercially successful artist, and would rather live in obscurity than paint under scrutiny of the public eye: ‘who summoned those cold faces that begun / To press on

²⁰⁴ Emerson writes: ‘Travelling is a fool’s paradise. [...] why need we copy the Doric or the Gothic model? Beauty, convenience, grandeur of thought and quaint expression are as near to us as to any, and if the American artist will study with hope and love the precise thing to be done by him, considering the climate, the soil, the length of the day, the wants of the people, the habit and form of the government, he will create a house in which all these will find themselves fitted, and taste and sentiment will be satisfied also’. Ralph Waldo Emerson, ‘Self-Reliance’, in *Essays and Lectures* (New York: The Library of America, 1983), 259-282, 278.

me and judge me?’²⁰⁵ The full section of the poem that Theobald quotes from is primarily concerned with the contrast between being a painter praised by the public and one who paints for his own pleasure:

These buy and sell our pictures, take and give,
 Count them for garniture and household-stuff,
 And where they live needs must our pictures live
 And see their faces, listen to their prate,
 Partakers of their daily pettiness,
 Discussed of, – ‘This I love, or this I hate,
 This likes me more, and this affects me less!’
 Wherefore I chose my portion. If at whiles
 My heart sinks, as monotonous I paint
 These endless cloisters and eternal aisles
 With the same series, Virgin, Babe and Saint,
 With the same cold calm beautiful regard, –
 At least no merchant traffics in my heart;
 The sanctuary’s gloom at least shall ward
 Vain tongues from where my pictures stand apart (PI, 136).

This section highlights two important aspects of the poem that James picks up on here. The first being the commercial aspect of painting that the whole poem is concerned with – the ‘youth’ of the poem paints for praise, whilst the artist narrator views his painting as a ‘gift / of fires from God’ (PI, 135). There is also the question of the setting of the paintings; the youth’s paintings are used in domestic settings ‘for garniture and household-stuff’, whilst the artist paints for churches – ‘endless cloisters and eternal aisles’. These elements of the poem draw the reader’s attention to Victorian perceptions of the shifting role of Renaissance painting from the ecclesiastical to the domestic. Pater also notes this change in his article on Leonardo Da Vinci, in which he wrote of Verrocchio, a Florentine ‘designer, not of pictures only, but of all things for sacred or household use, drinking-

²⁰⁵ Robert Browning, ‘Pictor Ignotus’, in *The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 135-7, 135, hereafter PI.

vessels, ambries, instruments of music, making them all fair to look upon, filling the common ways of life with the reflection of some far-off brightness.’²⁰⁶

In this sense, the two texts James directly refers to here are used as a way of introducing the ideas about patronage and the role of art that are central to the tale. Theobald romanticises the act of painting as a form of depicting ideals, whilst H. has a far more grounded view of art that is steeped in the world of patronage and art as a profession. By directly referencing the two texts, James is encouraging his reader to engage with Cellini’s autobiography and Browning’s poem; allowing the reader to read them for themselves and understand James’ use of them more fully.

The next day, the two Americans go to the Uffizzi and Pitti galleries, where they again exchange their perceptions of art and artistry in front of the works of Titian, Raphael, and Mantegna, who Theobald notes ‘was not in a hurry, [...] he knew nothing of “raw Haste, half-sister to Delay!”’ (MF, 18). This is a reference to the final line of Tennyson’s ‘Love Thou Thy Land’ (1834). This poem calls for the reader to ‘Love thou thy land, with love far-brought / From out the storied Past, and used / within the Present’²⁰⁷ – it is a poem with a strong, idealised polemic, much like Theobald’s own desire for the ideal in art. By quoting just one line, James draws attention to Theobald’s notion of not wanting to rush his work, but for a reader familiar with the whole poem, the message is that one should make use of the past to build a future for one’s country. In using such a patriotic poem, James subtly draws attention to Theobald’s comparative disassociation from America and his American compatriots, and his focusing on the ideal in art.

Theobald goes on to reveal his sense of art appreciation: ‘There are two moods [...] in which we may walk through galleries, – the critical and the ideal’ (MF, 18). The former is ‘the genial one’ which ‘relishes the pretty trivialities of art, its vague clevernesses, its conscious graces’ (MF, 18), whilst the latter is full of ‘fierce and fastidious longing, [...] when all vulgar effort and all petty success is a

²⁰⁶ Walter Pater, ‘Notes on Leonardo da Vinci’, in *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 6 New Series, Issue 35 (Nov 1st 1869), 494-508, 495, hereafter LdV. This also has parallels with the anonymous writer’s argument in July 1872 that America requires craftsmanship to have a solid artistic future.

²⁰⁷ Alfred Lord Tennyson, *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. by Christopher Ricks (London: Longmans, 1969), 613-16, 613.

weariness, and everything but the best [...] disgusts' (MF, 18-9). His ability to recognise the two 'moods' – one which allows you to appreciate an artist's shortcomings, and another that desires to see only the best – highlights his aesthetic sensitivities, but also demonstrates how little he understands the reality of being an artist, where there are inevitably failures as well as successes. This is demonstrated in their discussion of the 'goal of [their] journey', 'the most tenderly fair of Raphael's Virgins, the Madonna in the Chair' (MF, 19, fig. 39).



(fig. 39), Raphael, *The Madonna of the Chair* or *Madonna Della Seggiola* (1513-14), Pitti Gallery, Florence.

James devotes a substantial part of the tale to this painting. What I want to draw attention to here is how James connects the idea of the "actual" and the "ideal" in H. and Theobald's discussion of the painting with the views of Taine and Ruskin. In doing so, he helps to draw out differences in H. and Theobald's ideologies about the role art should play. Ruskin wrote about the painting in the third

volume of *Modern Painters*, denouncing it for its realism in contrast to earlier paintings: '[t]he appearances of nature were more closely followed in everything; and the crowned Queen-Virgin of Perugino sank into the simple Italian mother in Raphael's Madonna of the Chair'.²⁰⁸ Because Raphael doesn't 'pour the treasures of earth at her feet, or crown her brows with the golden shafts of heaven', Ruskin considered the painting inferior, as he felt Raphael 'had no longer any religious passion to express' (*MP*:3, 56). In short, Raphael was more interested in realism than idealism: '[h]e could think of [the Madonna] as an available subject for the display of transparent shadows, skilful tints, and scientific foreshortenings, as a fair woman, forming, if well painted, a pleasant piece of furniture for the corner of a boudoir, and best imagined by a combination of the beauties of the prettiest contadinas' (*MP*:3, 56). Taine appreciated the painting for what Ruskin perceived as its flaw: 'she bends over her child with the beautiful action of a wild animal and her clear eyes, without thought, look you full in the face. Raphael here has become the pagan and only thinks of the beauty of physical being and the embellishment of the human figure' (*I: FV*, 154). Ruskin criticises it for its realism, whilst Taine appreciates it for "embellishing" nature. These approaches to Raphael's painting are important in the context of the tale and how both H. and Theobald interpret it. H. seems to stand between the two camps, commenting that the painting's 'figure melts away the spectator's mind into a sort of passionate tenderness which he knows not whether he has given to heavenly purity or to earthly charm' (*MF*, 20). Yet for Theobald, the picture is immaculate, and he focuses on the process of painting such a masterpiece: '[t]hink of his seeing that spotless image, not for a moment, for a day, in a happy dream, [...] but for days together, while the slow labor of the brush went on, while the foul vapors of life interposed, and the fancy ached with the tension, fixed, radiant, distinct, as we see it now!' (*MF*, 20).

H.'s response to this is steeped in the actuality of its creation, asking '[d]on't you imagine [...] that he had a model, and that some pretty young woman', before being cut off by Theobald, who goes on to claim that 'no lovely human outline could charm it to vulgar fact [...] that's what they call idealism' (*MF*, 20). He acknowledges the presence of realism in Raphael's other works, but frames this within a discussion of the way an artist's imagination 'caresses and flatters' the 'realities of

²⁰⁸ John Ruskin, *Modern Painters: Vol. 3* (London: Blackfriars Publishing Co., [n.d.]), 55-6, hereafter *MP*:3. The 'simple Italian mother' Ruskin describes is echoed in the character of Serafina, Theobald's model for his own painting.

nature': '[h]e knows what a fact may hold (whether Raphael knew, you may judge by his portrait behind us there, of Tomasso Inghirami); but his fancy hovers above it, as Ariel above the sleeping prince' (MF, 21).

Associating Raphael with the fairy in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* again emphasises Theobald's unrealistic perception of the life of an artist as being fanciful and somewhat magical.

The portrait of Tomasso Inghirami hangs in the same room of the Pitti gallery – an image that, despite not shying away from the subject's strabismus, still manages to portray



(fig. 40), Raphael, *Tomasso Inghirami* (1509), Pitti Gallery, Florence.

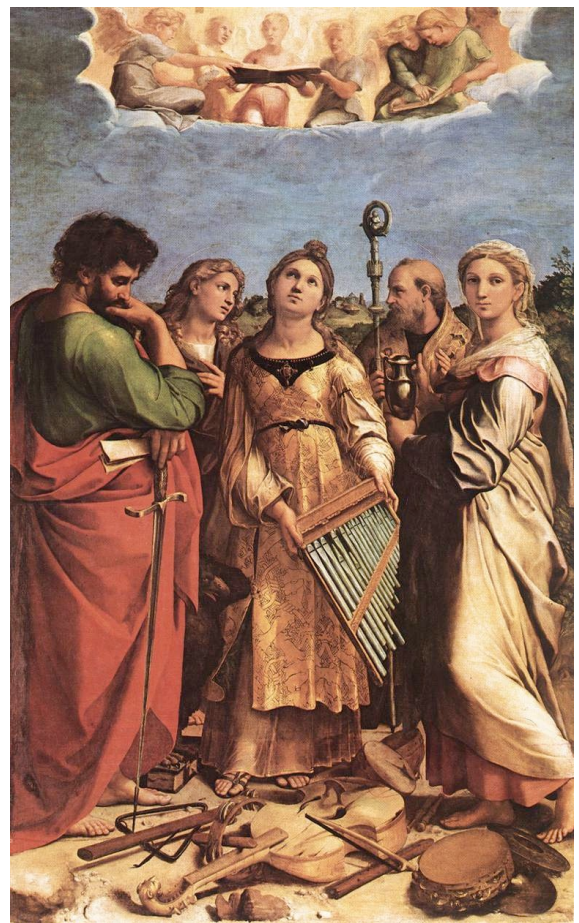
him flatteringly, by drawing attention to his studies and divine inspiration, characterised by his upward gaze (fig. 40). The Horner Sisters, British guidebook writers, were to note in *Walks in Florence* the painting's 'faithful adherence to nature', adding that '[t]he clever expression of the face compensates for want of beauty'.²⁰⁹ Raphael's ability to idealise a subject is what Theobald is drawing attention to.

H. tries to diffuse this idealism by looking at the paintings from a historical perspective and that of the market: '[t]here are people, I know, who deny that his spotless Madonnas are anything more than pretty blondes of the period, enhanced by the Raphaellesque touch, which they declare is a profane touch. Be that as it may, people's religious and aesthetic needs went hand in hand, and there was, as I may say, a demand for the Blessed Virgin, visible and adorable, which must have given firmness to the artist's hand. I'm afraid there is no demand now' (MF, 22). James revised 'which they declare is a profane touch' to 'which they declare to be then as calculating and

²⁰⁹ Susan & Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence: Vol. 2* (London: W. Ibister & Co., 1874), 389.

commercial as any other' In the New York Edition (MF:NYE, 405), making it a more clear issue of supply and demand in the economic sense. By framing the observation in a question of the economics of the marketplace, emphasising the demand for the paintings in the Renaissance, H. again places himself firmly in the camp of those who deal with the realities of the art world. Theobald again deflects this, saying '[t]here is always a demand! [...] But it can spring now only from the soil of passionate labor and culture' (MF, 22), before revealing that he himself has a painting of the Madonna in progress.

"'Anch' io son pittore!'" is the phrase H. cries when he realises Theobald is intending to paint his masterpiece (MF, 23); this line, 'I am also an artist', is attributed to Correggio, who allegedly made the exclamation when in front of Raphael's *St. Cecilia* (fig. 41).²¹⁰ By quoting it, H. is suggesting that Theobald has the potential to follow in Correggio's footsteps by matching Raphael, should he succeed in finishing. Yet Theobald, despite his enthusiasm for the subject, seems keen to divert attention from a discussion of the practicalities of the painting, saying that '[a] great work needs silence, privacy, mystery even' (MF, 23). He admits that there isn't a market for the work when he says 'people are so cruel, so frivolous, so unable to imagine a man's wishing to paint a Madonna at this time of day, that I've been laughed at' (MF, 23). Yet despite this, he continues to aim to paint such a work: '[t]here's nothing grotesque in a pure ambition, or in a life devoted to it!' (MF, 23).



(fig. 41), Raphael, *The Ecstasy of St. Cecilia* (1516-17), National Gallery, Bologna.

²¹⁰ A short story appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* over a decade earlier that had directly referred to the anecdote: 'Can you say yet, as Correggio did when he saw the St. Cecilia of Raphael, "Anch' io son pittore"?' Anon, 'Clarian's Picture', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 5, Issue 32 (June 1860), 707-721, 715.

H.'s perception of Theobald develops over the coming weeks, and he becomes 'more and more impressed with my companion's prodigious singleness of purpose. Everything was a pretext for some wildly idealistic rhapsody or reverie' (MF, 23-24). He comes to align this with Theobald's poverty: '[h]is professions, somehow, were all half-professions, and his allusions to his work and circumstances left something dimly ambiguous in the background [...] He was evidently poor; yet he must have had some slender independence, since he could afford to make so merry over the fact that his culture of ideal beauty had never brought him a penny' (MF, 25).

The Patron and the Model: Mrs. Coventry & Serafina

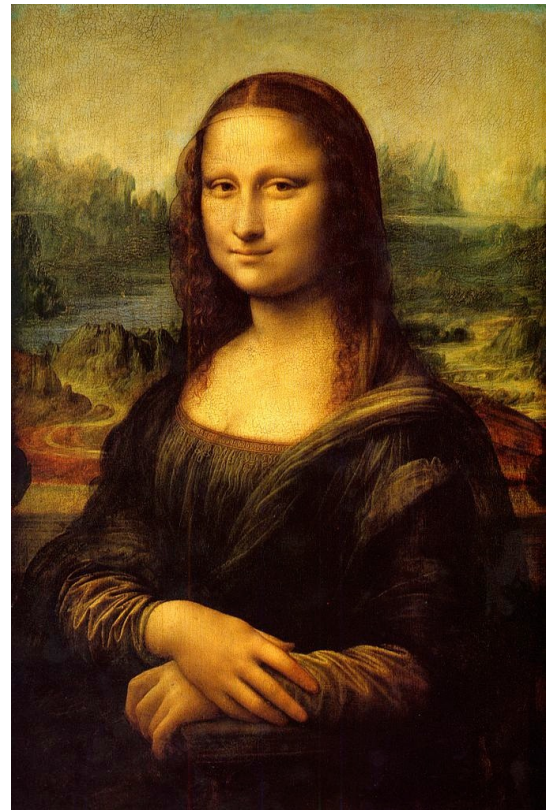
Once James has firmly established the connections between Theobald and Raphael, and Renaissance and present-day Florence, he then moves on to consider the role of other important figures in the career of an artist. First he introduces the most vital figure for an artist who wishes to make a living from his craft, the modern-day patron: Mrs. Coventry, 'whose drawing-room had long formed an attractive place of reunion for the foreign residents' (MF, 26).²¹¹ James portrays her as a figure for mockery, with pretensions towards the arts, but perhaps no real appreciation of art: 'Mrs. Coventry was famously "artistic." Her apartment was a sort of Pitti Palace *au petit pied*. [...] our hostess enjoyed the dignity of a sort of high-priestess of the arts. She always wore on her bosom a huge miniature copy of the Madonna della Seggiola' (MF, 26). She is a caricature of a certain "type" of American expatriate, whom James evidently didn't much approve of. Yet her role in the tale is fundamental in providing the narrator with evidence that Theobald is an artist too pre-occupied with the "ideal" to deal with the realities of the art world around him.

She also echoes H.'s perception of Theobald's affinity with Raphael: '[a]nother Raphael, at the very least, had been born among men, and poor, dear, America was to have the credit of him. Hadn't he the very hair of Raphael flowing down on his shoulders? The hair, alas, but not the head!' (MF, 27). Her more blunt analysis of the connection between Theobald and Raphael brings to attention the

²¹¹ In the New York Edition, James revises 'foreign residents' to 'strangers of supposed distinction' to emphasise the bogus nature of their pretensions (MF:NYE, 412).

fact that Theobald may well have the looks and manner of Raphael, but lacks the vital aspects needed; the artistic genius, work ethic, and the favouring epoch.

Mrs. Coventry then goes on to make another comparison, to Leonardo, saying that '[t]he women were all dying to sit to him for their portraits and be made immortal, like Leonardo's Joconde. We decided that his manner was a good deal like Leonardo's, – mysterious and inscrutable and fascinating' (MF, 27, fig. 42).²¹² The phrasing here is similar to Pater's description of Leonardo: 'it is still by a certain *mystery* in his work, and something *enigmatical* beyond the usual measure of great men, that he *fascinates*, or half repels' (LdV, 494 emphasis my own; enigmatical suggests 'mysterious' and 'inscrutable'). Pater's article was a testimony to Leonardo's artistic skill; and his soon-to-be famous description of La Gioconda also considered the question of the ideal and actual in art: 'but for express historic testimony, we might fancy that this was but his ideal lady, embodied and held at last. What was the relationship of the living Florentine to this creature of thought? By what strange affinities did she and the dream thus grow apart, yet so closely together?' (LdV, 506). The relationship between the actual model and the idealised woman in the painting is a key element of Pater's discussion, as in the exchange between H. and Theobald about Raphael's Madonna.



(fig. 42), Leonardo da Vinci, *Mona Lisa* or *La Joconde* (1503-06), Louvre Museum, Paris.

²¹² James revises the title of the painting to 'Gioconda', in the New York Edition, which is also in keeping with Pater's use of the Italian title (MF:NYE, 413).

Mrs. Coventry's allusion to the painting emphasises how much her friends wanted to be idealised in a similar way. Yet when Theobald painted Mrs. Coventry, she was far from pleased with the results: '[h]is strong point, he intimated, was his sentiment; but is it a consolation, when one has been painted a fright, to know it has been done with particular gusto?' (MF, 27). It is hard to tell if her indignation that Theobald 'didn't know the very alphabet of drawing' is fact, or symptomatic of her disappointment that Theobald hasn't painted a flattering portrait. But the most important aspect of the revelation is that Theobald is completely without the commercial sense to paint a flattering portrait, unlike Raphael, as James draws attention to in making reference to the Tomasso Inghirami portrait. Pater's question about the relationship between the 'living Florentine' behind Leonardo's *Giaconda* and Leonardo's ideal woman that he paints is central to this point. If Theobald had the genius he claims, he would surely be able to idealise and romanticise Mrs. Coventry's portrait in a way that would ensure future commissions.

Mrs. Coventry goes on to observe that she fancies 'that if one were to get into his studio, one would find something very like the picture in that tale of Balzac's, – a mere mass of incoherent scratches and daubs, a jumble of dead paint!' (MF, 28). As mentioned earlier, the reference to Theobald's black velvet cap is an echo of his counterpart Frenhofer in Balzac's tale, *Le Chef D'oeuvre Inconnu*. Cornelia Kelley writes that Balzac's tale is 'of the artist who believed he knew the secret of how to paint living and breathing people but was disillusioned after ten years of work on his masterpiece by the careless remark of a young man', and that James 'reversed' this idea, by writing about a writer who paints nothing (Kelley, 149). The reference to the work again serves to encourage the reader to read James' source, but it is important to consider that it is Mrs. Coventry who makes the unkind comparison – as it is through her that the tale is referenced. A character who has drawn attention to Theobald's lack of drive to paint, her reference to a fictional painting emphasises how far Theobald's work and ideas are removed from reality. She urges H. to 'keep your credulity out of your pockets! Don't pay for the picture till it's delivered', warning him away from losing money on commissioning Theobald's work (MF, 28).

There is no doubt that we are not meant to think of Mrs. Coventry as a sympathetic character, but James did not want the reader to be completely put off by her. In the New York Edition, James

revised H.'s reaction to Mrs. Coventry's 'pungent recital' (MF, 29), choosing instead to call it a 'bold sketch' (MF:NYE, 415), and describing her as 'satirical, but [...] neither unveracious nor vindictive' (MF:NYE, 415) instead of 'a clever woman, and presumably a generous one' (MF, 29). By lightening the language he uses, James emphasises not only that Mrs. Coventry is not simply being cruel, but that there might be some veracity to her claims.

H. returns to Theobald to 'test Mrs. Coventry's accuracy' on the terrace of San Miniato, of which he claims that 'no spot is more propitious to lingering repose' (MF, 29), an allusion perhaps to the painting by Thomas Cole that the Jameses had in their parlour. Theobald has similarly unkind words for Mrs. Coventry: '[s]he prattles about Giotto's second manner and Vittoria Colonna's liaison with "Michael" [...] but she knows as little about art, and about the conditions of production, as I know about Buddhism' (MF, 29).²¹³ Notably, James revised the last word from 'Buddhism' to 'the stock-market' in the New York Edition, making Theobald's lack of commercial awareness more clear. In referring to Vittoria Colonna's 'liaison with Michael', James is foreshadowing the introduction of Serafina in the following pages. Pater, in his 1871 essay on 'The Poetry of Michelangelo', had written of the relationship between Michelangelo and Colonna that 'it is the Platonic tradition rather than Dante's that has moulded Michelangelo's verse. In many ways no sentiment could have been less like Dante's love for Beatrice than Michelangelo's for Vittoria Colonna'.²¹⁴ Once H. has met Serafina, he observes that Theobald 'bend[s] towards her in a sort of Platonic ecstasy' (MF, 31).

Before this however, H. quotes at length the 'charming speech of the Florentine painter in Alfred de Musset's *Lorenzaccio*' (MF, 30). The character in question appears only in one scene, and is portrayed as an artist with more talent for art appreciation than painting; when he produces a painting, Lorenzo de Medici asks 'is it a landscape or a portrait? How should one look at it?'²¹⁵ The reference to the work, even citing Musset's full name, again directs the reader towards the text

²¹³ Vittoria Colonna is also one of the favourite subjects of Gilbert Osmond in *Portrait of a Lady* (1881). Henry James, *The Portrait of a Lady* (London: Penguin, 2011), 272.

²¹⁴ Walter Pater, 'The Poetry of Michelangelo', in the *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 10 New Series, Issue 59 (Nov. 1871), 559-570, 565.

²¹⁵ Alfred de Musset, 'Lorenzaccio', in *Five Plays*, trans. by Donald Watson (London: Methuen Drama, 1995), 79-214, 115, hereafter Musset.

itself. Notably, this is the first time that H. makes reference to a work of fiction. If the reader were to read the scene the character – named Tebaldeo, the Italian version of Theobald – appears in, he would recognise more than just the comparison to Theobald James makes in the tale. Tebaldeo confesses '[t]here is small merit in my works. I know better how to love the arts than practise them. But all my young days have been spent in churches. Where else can I admire Raphael and our divine Buonarotti? For days on end I stand before their works – in ecstasy' (Musset, 114). H. is being polite by quoting the speech he does, as this speech is possibly a more accurate description of Theobald.

Tebaldeo makes another interesting point when invited to come and paint Lorenzo de Medici's 'courtesan, Mazzafirra, in the nude', to which he replies 'I've scant respect for my brush, but no portrait of a courtesan! I respect my art too much to prostitute her' (Musset, 116). It is at this point in the tale, where H. quotes Musset, that I would like to suggest Howells and Henry James Sr. deleted the section of the tale that dealt with Theobald's 'Titian-ic beauty', as it seems James used Musset's courtesan reference as a source for it. Christina Albers writes that the deleted episode is 'Theobald's discussion of his love and visit from his "madonna" and "his subsequent disgust of her worthlessness"', which is a misleading statement for three reasons.²¹⁶ Firstly, nowhere in James Sr's letter does he write 'Madonna', except in reference to the title of the story. Secondly, he describes the woman in question as 'a Titian-ic beauty', and there is nowhere in the text that Serafina is associated with Titian; instead he associates her with Raphael, the significance of which I shall discuss later. Thirdly, in William James' letter to Henry regarding the excisions, writing of the deleted episode that it 'might have had its senses preserved, with the loss of its somewhat cold & repulsive details had anyone here had the art to abridge it into a short and poetically vague statement that he had once broken with an iconoclastic love' (*CWJ*, 189). This is certainly in reference to a woman other than Serafina. In response to his father, James wrote that he did not 'artistically approve' of the restrictions to the "immoral" episode', asking '[f]or what class of minds is it that such very timorous scruples are thought necessary?' (*CL1872-76:1*, 202). It is notable that James' father related that Howells had thought of the episode 'as being too much fashioned upon

²¹⁶ Christina E. Albers, *A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Henry James* (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1997), 512.

French literature' (HJSr, 2), as it seems likely that the episode was excised from the part of the story in which James quotes Alfred de Musset at length.

After quoting Tebaldeo's speech, H. goes on to say 'I don't know if you have a sweetheart, or whether she has a balcony. But if you're so happy, it's certainly better than trying to find a charm in a third-rate *prima donna*' (MF, 30). At first, '*prima donna*' reads as an allusion to Mrs. Coventry's demands for paintings, but at this point in the tale, H. has not expressed clear disapproval of her – at this point he is trying to 'test [her] accuracy' (MF, 29). If the excision in question is of an 'iconoclastic love' in Theobald's past, it logically follows that after a reference to a sweetheart, Theobald might relate this part of his history to H. at this point. In this sense, perhaps the 'third-rate *prima donna*' is a surviving reference to the deleted 'Titian-ic beauty'. This also might explain why Theobald 'ma[kes] no immediate response' to H.'s observation, and Howells was trying to cover the gap with a dramatic pause (MF, 30). It would also fit the tale's structure to have such a character described in detail immediately before H. is introduced to Serafina, in order to give her contrast. Taine had sympathetically written of the contrast between the Venetian Titian and Florentine painters such as Raphael, saying 'more meditative, more divorced from realities, the Florentines create an ideal and abstract world above our own; more spontaneous, more placid, Titian loves our world, comprehends it, shuts himself up within it and reproduces it, ever embellishing it without recasting or suppressing it' (*I:VF*, 305). Taking a different attitude to a similar interpretation of the painter, Ruskin wrote in *The Stones of Venice* that '[t]here is no religion in any work of Titian's: there is not even the smallest evidence of religious temper or sympathies either in himself, or in those for whom he painted.'²¹⁷ These attitudes explain why a Titian-ic beauty might repulse Theobald – she is too real, and therefore worthless.

It is at this point in the narrative that Theobald introduces H. to his muse, Serafina. Having already built on the idea of Theobald's discourse being unreliable in H.'s discussions with Mrs. Coventry, James then introduces the other important character in the life of an artist who wishes to paint figures: the model. Theobald introduces her with reverence, talking of her 'with an air of religious

²¹⁷ John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice: Vol. 1* (London: George Allen, 1900), 11.

mystery', as 'the most beautiful woman in Italy. "A beauty with a soul!"' (MF, 30). He speaks of her beauty as 'a lesson, a morality, a poem! [...] my daily study' (MF, 30).

Once H. meets her, it becomes apparent that Theobald is unaware of the reality of her appearance: '[t]hat she was indeed a beautiful woman I perceived, after recovering from the surprise of finding her without the freshness of youth' (MF, 32). H. goes on to describe her appearance in greater detail once he sees her in a clearer light: '[i]n this brighter illumination I perceived that our hostess was decidedly an elderly woman. She was neither haggard nor worn nor gray; she was simply coarse. The "soul" which Theobald had promised seemed scarcely worth making such a point of; it was no deeper mystery than a sort of matronly mildness of lip and brow' (MF, 33). He acknowledges her role as muse, when he describes her as a '*bourgeoise* Egeria' (MF, 33), a reference to the myth of the nymph who acted as a guide to the King Numa in the establishment of Rome.²¹⁸ In calling her '*bourgeoise*', he again emphasises the reality of the situation, and spends much of the encounter trying to figure out her motivations in meeting with Theobald so often, by testing her moral character; when Theobald kisses her hand goodbye, '[i]t occurred to [me] that the offer of a similar piece of gallantry on my own part might help me to know what manner of woman she was. When she perceived my intention, she withdrew her hand' (MF, 35). This indicates that although she might not think much of Theobald – she 'tap[s] her forehead with her forefinger' to suggest she thinks he's mad (MF, 33) – she is keen to preserve an appearance of decorum around him.

Another important element of the first meeting with Serafina is the first sight of Theobald's artistic work, the sketch of her dead son as the infant Christ. H. refers to it as 'recall[ing] the touch of Correggio' (MF, 34), another reference to the Renaissance painter who followed in Raphael's footsteps, emphasising H.'s belief that Theobald has similar potential. That H. believes the work would 'hold its own' in the Uffizi is a testament to Theobald's wasted talent (MF, 35). Once they have left Serafina's house, Theobald recounts his first meeting with her, which is notable for his romanticised view of her:

²¹⁸ The philosopher John Fiske – a friend of the James family – had written of 'the nightly visits of Numa to the grove of the nymph Egeria', in his article on folklore in the *Atlantic Monthly*. John Fiske, 'The Origins of Folk-Lore, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 27, Issue 160 (Feb. 1871), 145-160, 158.

You should have seen the mother and child together, seen them as I first saw them, – the mother with her head draped in a shawl, a divine trouble on her face, and the bambino pressed to her bosom. You would have said, I think, that Raphael had found his match in common chance [...] She might have stepped out of the stable of Bethlehem! [...] She too was a maiden mother, and she had been turned out into the world in her shame (MF, 35).

His notion of her as being so akin to the Madonna seems rather absurd, and he again alludes to Raphael. James built on this in the New York Edition, when he added to the speech that once Theobald gave her money, she ‘received what I gave her with the holy sweetness with which the Santissima Vergine receives the offerings of the faithful’ (MF:NYE, 423). Then, he relates that ‘I’ve absorbed her little by little; my mind is stamped and imbued, and I have determined now to clinch the impression; I shall at last invite her to sit for me!’ (MF, 36). H. is ‘unable to repress a headlong exclamation’, crying out ‘you’ve *dawdled*! She’s an old, old woman – for a Madonna!’ (MF, 36). The reality of the situation finally hits home for Theobald, ‘[t]he poor fellow’s sense of wasted time, of vanished opportunity, seemed to roll in upon his soul in waves of darkness. He suddenly dropped his head and burst into tears’ (MF, 38). Sirpa Salenius writes that James uses the image of Theobald walking over the bridge of Santa Trinita, to represent his crossing ‘from his illusion into reality’.²¹⁹

Conclusion: Reality and the Plastic Sculptor

Once H. has shattered Theobald’s illusions, James continues to emphasise his perceptions as delusion by enlarging on the reality of Serafina’s life. H. goes to meet her to enquire about Theobald, and finds her with the unnamed Italian artist, who is apparently her lover. The tableau he describes upon entering the room is notable for his description of her eating: ‘[h]er attitude, as I entered, was not that of an enchantress. With one hand she held in her lap a plate of smoking macaroni; with the other she had lifted high in air one of the pendulous filaments of this succulent compound, and was in the act of slipping it gently down her throat’ (MF, 39). That James might

²¹⁹ Sirpa Salenius, *Florence, Italy: Images of the City in Nineteenth-Century American Writing* (Joensuu, Finland: University of Joensuu Publications in the Humanities, 2007), 151.

spend so long describing her eating might seem unusual, but it is in fact feeding in to a tradition of images of macaroni eating of this manner. In the Corsini Palace in Rome, there is a small painting by Domenico Spadaro entitled *I Maccaronari* (fig. 43), that it is possible that James saw when he visited the palace in 1869 (*CL*1855-72:2, 211). Images of this way of eating were popularised in prints and postcards, as shown by this 1820 print (fig. 44), so it is possible James' audience would have recognised the allusion. As both pictures show with marked realism, the pose is associated predominantly with men of the lower classes, so for Serafina to be eating in this manner is not only un-ladylike, but also shows her to be from a working-class background. She asks about Theobald, revealing her willingness to pander to his delusions: '[h]e has a strange belief – really, I ought to be ashamed to tell you – that I resemble the Blessed Virgin: Heaven forgive me! I let him think what he pleases, so long as it makes him happy' (MF, 42). This is coupled with the revelation that she is not alone, but with the Italian sculptor.

The introduction of the sculptor at this point in the tale is quite vital to the narrative, as he features in only the last ten pages of the story, where James is deconstructing Theobald's delusions. He is, as Simone Francescato says, Theobald's 'ideological antagonist';²²⁰ he is both a realist and commercially aware: 'he knew a money-spending *forestiere* when he saw one' (MF, 40). His figures are notable not only for their design – 'a cat and a monkey, fantastically draped, in some preposterously sentimental conjunction' (MF, 42) – but also the material they are made from: '[d]elicate as they look, it is impossible they should break!' (MF, 42). He describes them as a salesman would: '[m]y creations have met with great success. They are especially admired by Americans. I have sent them all over Europe, – to London, Paris, Vienna! [...] It is not classic art, signore, of course; but between ourselves, isn't classic art sometimes rather a bore?' (MF, 43-4).

Arthur C. Danto has identified a possible source for the figures, a 'Coalport figurine discovered by Jim Dine' (fig. 45), although there is no concrete evidence James ever saw something of this type: 'It is tempting to suppose that James actually saw an exemplar of the figure' (Danto, 123). However, the similarity between the figurines James describes and those discussed by Danto is enough to give

²²⁰ Simone Francescato, *Collecting and Appreciating: Henry James and the Transformation of Aesthetics in the Age of Consumption* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), 57, hereafter Francescato.

(fig. 43), Domenico Spadaro, *I Maccaronari* (c. 1630-75), Corsini Palace, Rome.

(fig. 44), Maria de Vito, *I Maccaronari* (1820), Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

a contemporary visual idea of the cat and monkey; the figure dates from circa 1840. What is most notable about the figures as James describes them, along with the artist, is just how much they fit into a Darwinian way of thinking.

(fig. 45), Coalport, *Figure of Cat and Monkey* (c. 1845-50), Shrewsbury Museum.

Francescato has acknowledged the parallel between the monkeys in the sculptures and James' description of the sculptor as seeming 'little more than an exceptionally intelligent ape' (MF, 45; Francescato, 67). However, I would like to take this argument further, by suggesting that James is building on the then recent furore surrounding Charles Darwin's publication of *The Descent of Man*.

James had written to Grace Norton in April of 1871 that '[e]very one hereabouts [in America] just now is talking about Darwin's *Descent of Man* – many of course with great horror of his fundamental proposition' (CL1855-72:2, 401).²²¹ *The Descent of Man* was the controversial book in which Darwin was to 'consider [...] whether man, like every other species, is descended from some pre-existing form'; the form in question being apes.²²² He acknowledged Prof. Thomas Huxley had 'conclusively shewn that in every single visible character man differs less from the higher apes than these do from the lower members of the same order of Primates' (Darwin, 3). With this recent controversy in mind, it seems strange that nobody seems to have written about the relationship between Darwin's theories and the ape figures in the tale. H. writes that they 'exhibited a certain

²²¹ Oddly enough, this letter remained unpublished until the *Complete Letters*, which seems strange considering it contains James' discussion of the most prominent scientist of the Victorian age.

²²² Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man* (London: John Murray, 1871), 2, hereafter Darwin.

sameness of motive, and illustrated chiefly the different phases of what, in delicate terms, may be called gallantry and coquetry; but they were strikingly clever and expressive, and were at once very perfect cats and monkeys, and very natural men and women' (MF, 44). The scientific connections between the animal kingdom and mankind had been a subject of debate throughout the nineteenth century, and the sculptor has discovered a way of translating this into a commercially viable art form: "[m]y figures are studied from life! [...] I don't know whether the cats and monkeys imitate us, or whether it's we who imitate them [...] Allow me to present you with my card, and to remind you that my prices are moderate'" (MF, 45). It is difficult to read these pages without Darwin's evolutionary theory coming to mind. At the end of the tale, moreover, the Italian sculptor survives because he is able to adapt to the marketplace, whilst Theobald flounders and eventually dies in poverty because he is unable to.

H. returns to see Theobald at his lodgings, where he finds the masterpiece, which turns out to be simply a canvas 'that was a mere dead blank, cracked and discolored by time' (MF, 47). Theobald acknowledges his shortcomings, framing it, as ever, in the context of the Renaissance: 'to enchant and astound the world, I need only the hand of Raphael. I have his brain. [...] I'm the half of a genius! Where in the wide world is my other half? Lodged perhaps in the vulgar soul, the cunning, ready fingers of some dull copyist or some trivial artisan who turns out by the dozen his easy prodigies of touch!' (MF, 48). H. takes him to the Pitti Gallery to say farewell to the paintings, where '[t]he eyes and lips of the great portraits seemed to smile in ineffable scorn of the dejected pretender who had dreamed of competing with their triumphant authors; the celestial candor, even, of the Madonna in the Chair was tinged with the sinister irony of the women of Leonardo' (MF, 48). The icons that caused so much inspirational talk now inspire 'perfect silence' (MF, 48), now his pretensions are at an end. Upon their return to his home, he falls ill, and dies.

In conclusion, it is quite clear that James makes use of the Renaissance to build up an image of the deluded Theobald, who could have been a great artist if he had ever taken the time to practise his craft. Through Theobald, the past lives again, but not in a way that could be sustained in the nineteenth-century world. His unwillingness or inability to create art himself means he is to die in obscurity, unlike the painter at the beginning of the tale 'who had achieved but a single masterpiece'

(MF, 1). In the tale, the position of the next great American painter remains vacant. James developed this relationship between Italy's historical influence on modern American visitors further, delving further into its history for new material. The resurfacing of relics of the Classical Roman past in the commercial modern day was to be another part of the Grand Tour that he was to fictionalise in his next two tales: 'The Last of the Valerii' and 'Adina'.

Chapter Five. A Woman's Worth: American Commerce and the Classical Roman Past in 'The Last of the Valerii' (1874) and 'Adina' (1874)

In December 1873, James had returned to Rome for the second time. On Christmas Day he wrote to his father about the changes he noted in the city: 'These are numerous – almost painful; & consist not so much in special alterations as in a kind of modernized air in the streets, a multiplication of shops, carts, newspaper-stalls etc, & an obscuration of cardinal's carriages and general picturesqueness' (CL1872-76:2, 163). The impact of tourism on Roman life was a subject he was to write about in greater detail in travel sketches such as 'From a Roman Notebook', where he wrote of the 'salient signs that Rome *had* become a capital'.²²³ He also wrote to his mother a few days later that '[t]he chapter of "society" here – that is American Society – opens up before me; but it remains to be seen if it is deeply interesting. I doubt it – having read the 1st pages' (CL1872-76:1, 166). It was during this time he wrote two tales that are concerned with the impact Americans who settled permanently in Rome had on American-Italian relations. In contrast to the earlier tales I have discussed, these tales make less direct use of cultural material, and James' interest lies more in the ways expatriates – women in particular – affect Italy's heritage and society. By writing a fictional account of these interactions between Americans and Romans, James is able to portray the impact that Americans in search of culture have on Rome in a way that considers both perspectives.

Unlike in 'The Madonna of the Future', where the Italian sculptor was willing to profit from the demand from tourists for his plastic figures, in these tales James concerns himself with the often negative impact Americans have on Italy when they unearth Classical Roman artifacts and appropriate these items for their own ends at the expense of Italian natives, be it intentional or accidental. 'The Last of the Valerii' is narrated by an unnamed American artist. Martha, his young goddaughter, marries the poor Italian Count Valerio, hoping to give her money cultural value by using it to renovate his Roman Villa. Martha's wish to cleanse her money through dedicating it to culture has the inadvertent effect of awakening a pagan spirit within her husband. They excavate the grounds, and unearth a magnificent statue of Juno, which the Count starts slavishly to worship.

²²³ Henry James, 'From a Roman Notebook', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 16, Issue 5 (Nov. 1873), 679-686, 679, hereafter FRM.

As his devotion to the statue becomes more intense, he neglects his wife more and more, even going so far as to sacrifice a goat on an altar in front of the sculpture. Eventually, the Count's religious fervour subsides, and he comes to his senses, at which point his wife insists the sculpture be reburied, and they return to being contentedly married.

Similarly in 'Adina', the tale is told through the eyes of a narrator who observes the action, this time an American tourist who accompanies his friend Sam Scrope on excursions around Rome and its environs. Whilst riding in the Roman Campagna, they encounter a young peasant who shows them a gemstone he has uncovered in the earth. Scrope barter with him for the gem, giving him eleven scudi for it, without revealing that he realises it is worth much more. Once he has cleaned up the stone, it is revealed to be an ornately inscribed intaglio belonging to the Emperor Tiberius; a priceless relic. Scrope intends to give it to his American fiancée Adina as a wedding present. Meanwhile, the peasant, Angelo, returns, having realised he has been duped by Scrope, and determines to have his revenge. This he does by stealing Adina from Scrope, revealing to the narrator at the end of the tale that she is worth far more than the gem.

Both tales deal with the impact on Italians of Americans settling down permanently in Rome through marriage and an interest in digging up the cultural past in a way that might be of monetary value for them. In the first tale, James' Americans excavate in order to use their money well, only to find that their discoveries corrupt the Italian Count Valerio, whilst in 'Adina', Sam Scrope's exploitation of Angelo Beati is what awakens the Italian's thirst for revenge. Of the two tales, 'The Last of the Valerii' is the more culturally rich, so this is the one that I will focus most of my attention on, since, as I will explain imminently, it appears James wrote 'Adina' due to fears that the first tale would not be published, intending it as a variation on the same themes. Therefore, I will be focusing on the similarities between the two tales in terms of how they portray Rome to an American audience, and how he uses the interactions between the characters within the tale to portray his sense of the impact of Americans in Italy. As will be seen, instead of relying solely on cultural material familiar to magazine readers through other writer's depictions of Italian culture, James instead wrote on subjects that were of interest to him, drawing on material from his own travel sketches and reviews, thus setting the agenda of what he considered to be culturally important

about Rome at the time. Before discussing this further, I want briefly to explore some of James' influences at the time, to give an account of his own perception of Rome.

Elizabeta Foeller-Pituch writes of 'The Last of the Valerii' that 'James is writing here under the influence of Prosper Mérimée's 'La Vénus d'Ille' and a European folklore tradition of classical goddesses threatening mortal marriages, but the main emphasis is on the international theme. The story is also a partial reworking of Hawthorne's *Marble Faun*, with which it shares questions about the burden of history always present in Rome.'²²⁴ I intend to show that James makes use of motifs from Mérimée's tale in 'Adina' too. Mérimée's tale is about the discovery of a Roman Venus in a small French town, which a young nobleman becomes enamoured with, until it kills him on his wedding night. James described the tale in an unsigned review of Mérimée's other works for the *Nation* in February 1874 as:

an admirable success [...] a version of the old legend of a love-pledge between a mortal and an effigy of a goddess. Mr. Morris has treated the theme with his usual somewhat prolix imagery in his 'Earthly Paradise'. Mérimée, making his heroine an antique bronze statue, disinterred in the garden of a little chateau in Gascony, and her victim the son of the old provincial antiquarian who discovered her, almost makes us believe in its actuality. This was the first known to us of Mérimée's tales, and we shall never forget our impression of its admirable art.²²⁵

Notably, the edition of Mérimée's works that James is reviewing doesn't contain the 'Vénus D'Ille', but in describing the tale, James is drawing his reader's attention to one similar to his own. Since the review was unsigned, James is not deliberately trying to create a connection between the tale

²²⁴ Elizabeta Foeller-Pituch, 'Henry James's Cosmopolitan Spaces: Rome as Global City', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 24, Issue 3 (Fall 2003), 291-297, 293, hereafter F-P. Foeller-Pituch also cites 'Kaplan; Vance; Martin and Pearson; Winner; Tintner; and Edel' as sources (F-P, 296).

²²⁵ Henry James, 'Mérimée's *Dernières Nouvelles*', in *Nation* (February 12th 1874), repr. in *Literary Criticism: French Writers, Other European Writers, The Prefaces to the New York Edition* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 562-565, 564. The part of William Morris' 1868-70 poem James is alluding to is probably 'The Hill of Venus', in which a Medieval knight falls in love with the goddess Venus, although it could also be 'Pygmalion and the Image', in which Venus grants Pygmalion's wish that his statue become a living woman. William Morris, *The Earthly Paradise*, ed. by Florence S. Boos (New York & London: Routledge, 2002). James also wrote of translating Mérimée's tale as a young man in *Notes of a Son and Brother*. Henry James, *Notes of a Son and Brother & The Middle Years*, ed. by Peter Collister (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 74-5.

and his own through his reputation as a writer, but as I intend to show in his other writings, he does this elsewhere, most notably in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Other possible sources for James' use of Classical Rome in the two tales are two books that were borrowed from the Boston Athenaeum by the James family between December 1871 and January 1872: Merivale's *History of Rome*, and Niebuhr's *Lectures on Roman History*. Only the first volume of Niebuhr's *Lectures*, was taken out, although the borrowing records show that volumes 1-5 of the seven-volume set of Merivale's *History* had been borrowed.²²⁶ As Margarita Diaz-Andreu has explained, Niebuhr's text was 'a text-based historical analysis, in which he included philological and epigraphical sources. He focused his history on institutions rather than individuals and finally separated history from the mythology. His method would dominate Roman scholarship until Mommsen's work.'²²⁷ Contrastingly, Merivale's *History of the Romans* was, as described in a review in the *North American Review*, 'eminently successful in the biography of individuals. We feel better acquainted with the genius, political relations, motives, and purposes of the subordinate, yet prominent, actors in the last days of Roman liberty, through the medium of these volumes, than by means of all our previous reading.'²²⁸ As a writer of fiction, Merivale's more biographical approach to history probably appealed to James over Niebuhr's more scholarly take, perhaps explaining why more volumes of Merivale's work had been borrowed. Yet James doesn't seem to deliberately allude to these texts; they appear to have been read purely for background material.²²⁹

As James' possible reading of these books suggests, the most notable feature of the two tales is the relevance of Classical Rome in modern times, both for Americans and Italians. Both of the tales

²²⁶ Glen MacLeod, 'The James Family and the Boston Athenaeum: A Bibliography', in *Resources for American Literary Study*, Vol. 29 (2005), 89-140, 106-7.

²²⁷ Margarita Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 333, hereafter Diaz-Andreu. The Mommsen referred to here is Theodor Mommsen, who 'did not believe in the historian's objectivity, but thought that historians should engage with the politics of their time' (Diaz-Andreu, 353).

²²⁸ Anon, 'Review of Arnold and Merivale's *Histories of Rome*', in *North American Review*, Vol. 72, Issue 150 (Jan. 1851), 442-465, 448.

²²⁹ As Grace Norton noted in her review of James' *A Passionate Pilgrim*: 'Of any classical training we have failed to detect the traces in him. His allusions, his citations, are in the strictest sense contemporary'. Grace Norton [unsigned], 'James's Tales and Sketches', in *The Nation*, Vol. 20, Issue 521 (June 24th 1875), 425-7, 426.

were written at a specific point in Rome's history where the city was undergoing a number of changes both politically and culturally. Having been made the capital of the recently unified Italy in July 1871, after James had first visited, the city was regenerated greatly, and throughout the 1870s, there had been a number of large excavation projects in Rome, overseen by the government.

Stephen L. Dyson writes that:

The city expanded rapidly [...] The delightful villa zone that had since the Renaissance graced the periphery of the small papal city was largely destroyed, and its pleasant gardens replaced by pretentious government buildings and blocks of apartments built to house the new Roman bourgeoisie. Almost every turn of the spade and blow of the pick uncovered some new reminder of the past. Much was discovered, even more destroyed, and the first of many debates on the conservation of the archaeological records in the new city began.²³⁰

The 1872 edition of Murray's *Handbook of Rome and its Environs* makes note of the more specific projects in the Roman Forum, noting that '[v]ery extensive excavations are now in progress, at the expense of the Government [...] They are considered by many injudicious, being more ideal restorations than discoveries. [...] All these excavations are in progress of being continued, so as to lay bare the whole of the Forum as far as the Arch of Titus.'²³¹ The excavations therefore had both positive and negative consequences, and resulted not only from the political changes within Italy, but also the increasing influx of tourists that the government was seemingly keen to draw in. James himself described the change in February 1873, saying 'a traveller who had seen the old Rome, coming back any time during the past winter, must have immediately perceived that something momentous had happened, – something hostile to picturesqueness.'²³² Instead of blaming the change of government however, James places the responsibility in the hands of tourism, saying of the Roman carnival that 'the innkeepers and Americans have marked it for their own' (ARH, 2).

²³⁰ Stephen L. Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), 95.

²³¹ John Murray, *Handbook for Rome & its Environs* (London: John Murray, 1872), 24-5, hereafter MHR.

²³² Henry James, 'A Roman Holiday', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 32, Issue 189 (July 1873), 1-11, 1, hereafter ARH.

Written at the same time as this travel sketch, James' tales fictionalise the consequences of this rapid excavation of and change in Rome from an American perspective; the American economic mindset allows him to question the value of the archaeological finds, both monetarily and morally. From James' perspective, the American influx of tourists and expatriates commercialises the excavation process in a damaging way. James builds on this by using the motif of Italian men marrying American women in a way that compares the "value" of the artifacts with these American-Italian marriages.

I want to focus on how James develops the presentation of Rome in these two tales, written for different magazines, and in terms of his growing sense of his literary reputation. I will first explore the circumstances surrounding the publication of the two tales, including a consideration of articles written about Classical Rome, and James' own travel sketches from his time in the city. Then I will focus on how James uses both these sources in his presentation of firstly 'The Last of the Valerii' and finally 'Adina'. As I hope will become clear, in the latter tale, his awareness of his reputation as a writer about Italy leads him to refer to his own works as a way of propagating his own conception of Italy.

Publishing Context

As discussed in the previous chapter, Henry James Sr. wrote to his son in January 1873 about his discussions with Howells about the prospect of James publishing a collection of short stories, writing that James had 'a large number of admirers, that is evident; and I suspect the volume might be remunerative.'²³³ James responded to this suggestion in a letter to his mother on March 24th, writing that he would rather postpone publishing such a collection because he 'value[d] none of my early tales enough to bring them forth again', going on to write: 'what I desire is this: to make a volume, a short time hence, of tales on the theme of American adventures in Europe, leading off with the Passionate Pilgrim. I have three or four more to write: one I have lately sent to Howells' (*CL1872-76:1*, 243). This tale was 'The Last of the Valerii', which he had started in January

²³³ Henry James Sr., Letter to Henry James (4th March [1873]), James Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., ed. by Pierre A. Walker et al. 2005. Salem State College. <http://www.dearhenryjames.org>.

of 1873, and sent off to Howells on February the 17th.²³⁴ James' determination to write tales that would be fit for book publication – according to his standards – suggests that he was keen to start to take his writing in a new direction. As a result, these tales use relatively less material from the content of magazines than his previous writing; having established himself with a firm reputation, perhaps James no longer felt the need to tailor his writing to suit his audience in this way. Before going into a brief discussion of the contexts behind the two tales, I will quickly explain the delay in the publication of 'The Last of the Valerii' that probably led James to write its counterpart, 'Adina' for *Scribner's Monthly*.

Despite Howells acknowledging the receipt of the manuscript of 'The Last of the Valerii' on March 10th 1873, the tale was not published until almost a year later; it finally appeared in the January 1874 issue. James wrote frequently to his parents about the delay, with letters between March and November complaining about the wait in publishing, despite assurances from his mother that Howells had said that 'your story he will work in when he can do so.'²³⁵ On November the 2nd, upon realising the *Atlantic* had not published any of his waiting works in that month's issue, he wrote to his father that he 'was very sorry to see that the *Atlantic* had again played me false. This long initiatory waiting is quite accablant' (CL1872-76:2, 68). His mother had suggested in September that he send work elsewhere, writing 'hadn't you better put more irons in the fire, and try Lippincott, and Scribner too?'²³⁶ James evidently took this advice, writing on the 26th of October that he was 'on the point of sending [Scribner's] another – a story in two parts' (CL1872-76:2, 63), this story being 'Adina'. Oddly enough, James had already received payment of \$100 for 'The Last of the Valerii' in May, which would surely have been confirmation of Howells' intention to publish it, yet he still pressed on with writing a tale on a similar theme for a different magazine. However, out of the two tales, James chose to include 'The Last of the Valerii' in his collection of tales, not 'Adina',

²³⁴ James had written to his brother on January 8th that he was 'now doing something for the *Atlantic*' (CL1872-76:1, 181), and then to his mother on February 17th 'I send to day to Howells a similar package', i.e. a manuscript (CL1872-76:1, 217).

²³⁵ Mary Walsh James, Letter to Henry James (1st July [1873]), James Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Cambridge, Mass, ed. by Pierre A. Walker et al. 2005. Salem State College. <http://www.dearhenryjames.org>.

²³⁶ Mary Walsh James, Letter to Henry James (12th Sept. [1873]), James Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., ed. by Pierre A. Walker et al. 2005, <http://www.dearhenryjames.org>.

suggestive that he viewed the latter as somewhat of a pot-boiler for income, as opposed to being an improvement on the original tale.

For ‘The Last of the Valerii’, James seems to continue developing his relationship with his readership, as he still makes reference to familiar material for their benefit, although not quite to the extent that he did in previous tales. In ‘Adina’ however, he more or less completely abandons the concept of writing specifically for *Scribner’s* readership. The fact that *Scribner’s* was still a relatively new publication may well have something to do with this; it had previously been called *Putnam’s Monthly*, but had been renamed in 1870. This, alongside the fact that James had been away in Europe for a fair amount of the magazine’s lifetime, may have been a reason why he doesn’t engage with its readership very strongly. His growing sense of his literary reputation probably played a role here too, as he wrote to Howells a few months later, saying that with his writing about Rome, he could ‘quadruple the circulation of the *Atlantic*’ (CL1872-76:2, 102). This demonstrates James’ sense of the role his writings about Italy were playing in building his reputation as a writer. Throughout the two tales in question, he alludes not only to articles by other writers, but also to his own travel writing. I will briefly summarise some of the key articles here.

At the time, there had been a number of articles on the subject of Classical mythology and deities published in various magazines, which James seems to be drawing on in these tales. In January 1868, there was an extract of Homer’s *Iliad* in the *Atlantic Monthly*, translated by the American poet William Cullen Bryant, entitled ‘The Combat of Diomed and Mars’. In this, the god Jupiter chastises his son Mars for going to fight the hero Diomed during the Trojan wars, saying:

....Thou art like
Thy mother Juno, headstrong and perverse.
Her I can scarcely rule by strict commands,
And what thou sufferest now, I deem, is due
To her bad counsels.²³⁷

²³⁷ William Cullen Bryant, ‘The Combat of Diomed and Mars (Translation from Homer)’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 21, Issue 123 (Jan. 1868), 47-49, 49.

It is worth emphasising that although Bryant is translating Homer, a Greek poet, he is naming the characters by their Roman names. In this extract, Juno is portrayed as being a defiant character, responsible for Mars' defeat by Diomed. Another notable contribution to the *Atlantic*, was an essay entitled 'Greek Goddesses', in which T. W. Higginson wrote a fairly detailed account of Hera or Juno's role in mythology²³⁸. He describes her as 'simply the wife of Zeus (or Jupiter), and the type and protector of marriage. [...] But with all this effort to make her equal in rank to her husband, it is the equality of a queen, superior to all except her spouse, and yielding to him. The highest gods reverence Hera, but she reveres Zeus.'²³⁹ This sums up Juno or Hera's role in quite the opposite way to Homer's depiction of her, and it is notable that Higginson says quite near the start of the article that 'my first sublime visions of an ideal womanhood came directly from the Greek tradition, as embodied in the few casts of antique sculpture in the Boston Athenaeum. [...] it was especially the Hera and Athena that suggested grandest spheres. It was as if I had ascended Mount Olympus and said "This then is a man; that is a woman!"' (GG, 97-8). In making reference to sculptures readily visible to readers with a membership to the Athenaeum, Higginson's article helps give them a sense of what makes each goddess particularly recognisable; he goes on to write that 'Hera wears a diadem and a bridal veil; her beauty is of a commanding type, through the large eyes and the imperious smile, as in the "Ludovisi Juno"' (GG, 101). This was a Roman bust of the goddess, then on display in the Villa Ludovisi; a number of copies were also exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum (fig. 46).²⁴⁰ From this article there is a clear sense that the Greek goddesses were ideals of womanhood, with Hera being the ideal of marriage. By alluding to their appearance in Classical sculpture, Higginson helps create a sense of the physical aspects of these various ideals of womanhood.²⁴¹ James, then, builds on these *Atlantic* portrayals of Juno in 'The Last of the Valerii'.

²³⁸ I discuss the distinction between the Greek and Roman goddesses on p. 166

²³⁹ T. W. Higginson, 'The Greek Goddesses', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 24, Issue 141 (July 1869), 97-108, 101, hereafter GG.

²⁴⁰ Robert F. Perkins, Jr. & William J. Gavin III, *The Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index: 1827-1874* (Boston: The Library of the Boston Athenaeum, 1980), 164-5, hereafter BAEI.

²⁴¹ Higginson later wrote an article on 'Sappho', which dealt with the sexuality of the poet, although he was rather dismissive of some critics' view of her work being part of 'a school of vice', preferring to draw parallels between this and the work of Margaret Fuller. This again connected classical ideas about women with modern day ideas of how women ought to act. T. W. Higginson, 'Sappho', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 28, Issue 165 (July 1871), 83-93, 88.

The essayist Henry T. Tuckerman had written in a similar way about the portrayal of the Roman emperors in an earlier 1858 article, 'Crawford and Sculpture', writing that 'the most distinct idea we have of the Roman emperors, even in regard to their individual characters, is derived from their busts in the Vatican and elsewhere. The benignity of Trajan, the animal development of Nero, and the classic vigor of young Augustus are best apprehended through these memorable effigies which Time has spared and Art transmitted.'²⁴² As this was republished in a book of essays entitled *The Criterion*, in 1866, it is



(fig. 46), *Juno Ludovisi* (c. 1st Century AD), Museo Nazionale, Rome.

possible James had read this before his travels abroad. As I will discuss later, this idea of being able to read the characteristics of the emperors in their busts occurs in 'The Last of the Valerii', when the narrator compares Count Valerio's physiognomy to that of the Emperor Caracalla. Indeed, much of the material relating to 'The Last of the Valerii' can be traced back to articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Elsewhere, there were other articles on similar subject matter, most notably in the *North American Review*, where the classical scholar William F. Allen wrote two articles on the Greek and Roman religions, the first being 'The Religion of Ancient Greece', and the second 'The Religion of the Ancient Romans'. James had been a contributor to the magazine at the time these were published, so is likely to have read them. These were highly detailed articles that summarised a number of German classicists' approaches to the subject, noting that 'now that Comparative mythology has come up as a science, we can see that one of its first and most essential requirements was to distinguish with

²⁴² Henry T. Tuckerman, 'Crawford and Sculpture', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 2, Issue 8 (June 1858), 64-78, 75.

precision between the religious systems of these two related peoples.’²⁴³ This may well have been a source for James’ German scholar whom Count Valerio turns away so adamantly when he requests to see the statue of Juno. The article on ‘The Religion of the Ancient Romans’ makes reference to a number of specific elements that James seems to make use of in ‘The Last of the Valerii’. For example, Allen notes that with regard to the worship of the major gods Jupiter and Juno, ‘the Romans had hardly more than the names in common with the Greeks; the conceptions and forms of worship were wholly their own’, and goes on to note that ‘[a]t this time Juno was perhaps nothing but the *numen* of women, the counterpart of the male *genius*’ (RAR, 47). It also makes a key distinction between the well-known Juno of classical myth, and the local Roman deity Juno Sospita, who ‘has perhaps more reality to us than most of her class, from her mention in Cicero’s oration against Milo, and from her peculiar statue in the Vatican, with shield and spear, clad in a goat-skin, with pointed shoes, and a serpent at her feet’ (RAR, 49, fig. 47). The article is detailed in its analysis, but it helps create important distinctions between the Greek and Roman conceptions of Hera, or Juno, that come into play in James’ tale.

(fig. 47), *Juno Suspita* (date unknown), Vatican Museum, Rome.

With regard to other magazines, there are also a number of articles of relevance. In December 1871 *Harper’s Monthly Magazine* published a heavily illustrated article by Lyman Abbott about Rome, which made mention of the Temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva being in a prominent position on

²⁴³ William Francis Allen, ‘The Religion of the Ancient Romans’, in *The North American Review*, Vol. 113, Issue 232 (July 1871), 30-62, 30-1, hereafter RAR.

the Capitoline Hill. Abbott also makes an interesting point when he asks '[c]an the dead past ever do man a better service than when it becomes a quarry out of which we gather our material of experience wherewith to construct the future?'²⁴⁴ – an idea that James develops in both of the tales in hand. For James, the dead past is destructive to Anglo-Italian relations when used in this way. On a similar theme of perceptions of the Classical past, one of *Scribner's Monthly's* first issues contained a review of Theodore Mommsen's *History of Rome*, which it praised, making note that '[i]f it treats of a degenerate community, fitted by its own inordinate luxury and widespread corruption for the tyranny by which it was soon to be enslaved, it is also a well-told story of thrilling incidents.'²⁴⁵ The 'degenerate' lifestyles of the Romans emperors were to be alluded to in James' own tale 'Adina', where the topaz belongs to Tiberius, infamous at the time for his corruption.

However, another important element in the context of the tales' publication was James' own articles about Italy. James, by now aware of his growing reputation as a writer, seems to feel more comfortable setting the agenda of what he felt to be important material to write about. As a result, there are a number of overlaps between the material in his tales and in his travel writing. Notably, a number of the Roman travel sketches James wrote in 1873 were sent to the *Atlantic*, whilst the others – such as his series 'A European Summer', set in England and France – were published elsewhere, mostly in the *Nation*, suggesting James was purposefully establishing a connection between his Roman fiction and travel writing. I want to briefly focus on the three Roman sketches James wrote for the *Atlantic*, along with two he wrote for the *Galaxy* and the *Nation*, so as to show how he engaged with material he was also using in his fiction. In July 1873, Howells published in the *Atlantic* the previously quoted 'A Roman Holiday', which contained some of James' notes from February 1873, when he was writing 'The Last of the Valerii', in which James describes the Roman Carnival before eschewing its frivolities in favour of a walk through the Forum towards the churches beyond it, a walk that takes in the Modern, Classical, and Renaissance versions of Rome. Here James writes of the changes to the Coliseum brought about by the government, again demonstrating his dislike of the often destructive nature of archaeology: 'This rough mountainous quality of the great

²⁴⁴ Lyman Abbott, 'The Eternal City', in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 44, Issue 251 (Dec. 1871), 1-19, 5.

²⁴⁵ Anon, 'Review of Mommsen's *History of Rome*', in *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. 1, Issue 4 (Feb. 1871), 461.

ruin is its chief interest; beauty of detail has pretty well vanished, especially since the high-growing wild flowers have been plucked away by the new government, whose functionaries, surely, at certain points of their task, must have felt as if they shared the dreadful trade of those who gather samphire' (ARH, 6).²⁴⁶ A strong anti-tourist sentiment holds strong throughout, with James recommending alternative places for when 'you are weary of the swarming democracy of your fellow-tourists, of the unremunerative aspects of human nature on the Corso and Pincio' (ARH, 10). This was written at the same time as 'The Last of the Valerii', and James builds on these motifs in the tale.

His article 'The After-Season in Rome' followed the same anti-tourist theme: 'It is not simply that St. Peter's, the Vatican, the Palatine, are for ever ringing with English voices: it is the general oppressive feeling that the city of the soul has become for the time a monstrous mixture of the watering-place and the curiosity-shop, and that its most ardent life is that of the tourists who haggle over false intaglio, and yawn through palaces and temples.'²⁴⁷ Note the reference here to 'false intaglio', echoed in the plot of 'Adina' where the intaglio said to be fake is in fact genuine. James advises the reader that the best time to visit Rome is in May, when there are far fewer tourists 'with their Baedekers peeping out of their pockets' (ASR, 399).

James followed this up with 'Roman Rides', which he wrote in late April 1873, describing the pleasure of escaping Rome for the Campagna: 'to have at your door the good and evil of [Rome]; and yet to be able in half an hour to gallop away and leave it a hundred miles, a hundred years behind.'²⁴⁸ A strong motif throughout this article is the number of references to shepherds to be found in the Campagna, 'precisely the shepherd for the foreground of a scratchy etching' (RR, 194), inviting the reader of 'Adina' to make picturesque associations with the tale's Italian peasant,

²⁴⁶ Note the reference to *King Lear*. In Act 4, Scene 5, Edgar describes a workman on the cliffs of Dover: 'Half-way down / Hangs one that gathers samphire, dreadful trade!' William Shakespeare, *King Lear* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Act 4, Scene 5, lines 14-15.

²⁴⁷ Henry James [unsigned], 'The After-Season in Rome', in *The Nation*, Vol. 16, Issue 415 (June 12th 1873), 399-400, 399, hereafter ASR.

²⁴⁸ Henry James, 'Roman Rides', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 32, Issue 190 (Aug. 1873), 190-198, 190, hereafter RR.

Angelo.²⁴⁹ James also makes use of the route towards Albano that Sam Scrope and the tale's narrator take when they encounter Angelo, saying '[t]he half-dozen rides you may take from the Porta San Giovanni possess the perfection of traditional Roman interest, and lead you through a far-strewn wilderness of ruins – a scattered maze of tombs and towers and nameless fragments of antique masonry' (RR, 193-4). He goes on to describe another shepherd he met one day; '[t]he poor fellow, lying there in rustic weariness and ignorance, little fancied that he was a symbol of Old World meanings to New World eyes'. Although James had not written 'Adina' by this point, he is clearly making use of this material in the tale, suggesting that his readership would be aware of his travel writings as well, and be aware of his romanticising of the rustic characters he encounters. In 'Adina', however, James tries to make his reader aware of the dangers of viewing these characters as merely innocent and picturesque.

In his next piece of writing, this time for the *Galaxy*, in the aforementioned 'From a Roman Notebook', James returned to material pertinent to 'The Last of the Valerii'. This article contains notes from both before and after he wrote the tale. On January 4th, he writes of the Tombs of the Valerii, as I shall discuss in more detail later, but in the April 27th entry, he also writes about the bust of Juno in the Villa Ludovisi that T. W. Higginson discussed in his article on the Greek goddesses, commenting that she is 'thrust into a corner behind a shutter' (FRN, 685). He goes on to write of the owner, Victor Emmanuel's 'morganatic wife' Rosina, that he 'should have thought more highly of the lady's discrimination if she had had the Juno removed from behind her shutter' (FRN, 685). John Carlos Rowe has written of the connection between Martha and Rosina, saying that 'James's brief reference to Rosina clearly follows the popular gossip that she was a vulgar and ambitious woman intent on using her personal influence for the sake of political gain. In this regard, James's American Martha is a more attractive alternative for the modern woman, respecting as she does both history and the hearth.'²⁵⁰ Since James had written that part of the article after finishing 'The Last of the Valerii', and it had been published before the tale, I would agree with Rowe on this point.

²⁴⁹ This continues the motif in 'At Isella' of Italians providing social colour to the scenery (see p. 108-110).

²⁵⁰ John Carlos Rowe, *The Other Henry James* (Durham, NC & London: Duke University Press, 1998), 50, hereafter *OHJ*.

This suggests that James may have assumed that some of his readership might now engage with his writing across different magazines.

Another example of this can be found in the final article on Rome that James was to publish in 1873: 'Roman Neighbourhoods', which appeared in the December issue of the *Atlantic*. In this, James focuses largely on Albano, and the surrounding villages, also the setting of much of the second half of 'Adina'. In 'Adina', he directly asks the reader '[d]o you remember the Capuchin convent at the edge of the Alban lake?' (Adina, 244). I would suggest that this is a reference, for those who knew it, to his travel sketch 'Roman Neighbourhoods' (December 1873), where he writes in great detail about his visit to the Capuchin convent in Albano. In the tale, the narrator encounters Adina sitting in the church, taking time to describe various aspects of the church's artwork and draw attention to the convent's terrace, 'into which ladies are not admitted' according to Murray (MHR, 409), a fact James alludes to in 'Adina', stating the view was 'a privilege denied to ladies' (Adina, 245). James describes the view of the Alban Lake from the terrace in 'Roman Neighbourhoods' as 'the very type of a legendary pool, and I could easily have believed that I only had to sit long enough into the evening to see the ghosts of classic nymphs and naiads cleave its sullen flood and beckon me with irresistible arms.'²⁵¹ By going into greater detail about the place written about in the tale, albeit briefly, he is able to give his reader a clearer idea of the environment his characters are in. The rest of this chapter will focus on how James depicts the Roman past in these tales in the context of its portrayal in American magazines, whilst also considering the role his emerging literary reputation was beginning to play in the construction of his tales.

The Last of the Valerii

'The Last of the Valerii' was written in the early months of 1873, which places it at a time when James had just returned to Italy and noted the changes he perceived between his first visit three years previously and his current visit. In the letter that he wrote to his brother, stating that he was 'doing something for the *Atlantic*', he also wrote that Rome was 'a strange jumble now of its old

²⁵¹ Henry James, 'Roman Neighbourhoods', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 32, Issue 194 (Dec. 1873), 671-681, 675.

inalterable self and its new Italian assumptions [...] It is an impossible modern city & will be a lugubrious modern capital, such as Victor Emanuel is trying to make it. It has for this purpose both too many virtues and too many vices. It is too picturesque to spoil & too inconvenient to remedy' (*CL1872-1876:1*, 179). Correspondingly, the tale largely focuses on the past, and how the discovery of Rome's classical relics affects modern Rome, largely in respect to the Count Valerio's reawakened paganism.

I want to focus on the cultural aspects of the tale more than a discussion of its plot, which has been covered largely by critics elsewhere.²⁵² However, by focusing on the cultural side of the tale, especially the names James gives his characters, the statues he refers to, and the places in which he sets some of the key scenes between the godfather and Count Valerio, I hope to illuminate the way he presents these to enhance its key elements.

There are two possible sources for the title of the tale. The first stems from the *Atlantic* itself; Howells had written an anecdote in his January 1871 article 'A Year in a Venetian Palace' about the Foscari family's dwindling lineage, referring to the two surviving spinsters of the family being 'shown to strangers by the rascal servants as the last of the Foscari'.²⁵³ The second source is a more personal one: on the 13th January 1873, James' aunt, Catherine Walsh, wrote to him from New York that she had met 'Lucy Washburn with "Kate Valerio" – the latter looking used up – worn out.'²⁵⁴ Kate Valerio was the first married name of Katherine Sedgwick, a relative of Charles Eliot Norton's wife, Susan Sedgwick. According to the family records, she 'married 1st, Joseph Valerio of Genoa, Italy. After his death she married 2nd, November 22, 1871, William T. Washburn.'²⁵⁵ In 1873, she had been married to William T. Washburn for two years, so it is unusual perhaps that Catharine

²⁵² For a summary of critical discussions of the tale, refer to Christina E. Albers, *A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Henry James* (New York: G. K. Hall, 1997), 434-445.

²⁵³ William Dean Howells, 'A Year in a Venetian Palace', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 27, Issue 159 (Jan 1871), 1-15, 2. There is also an echo of the title of George Sand's novel, *The Last Aldini*.

²⁵⁴ Catharine Walsh, Letter to Henry James (13th Jan. [1873]), James Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., ed. by Pierre A. Walker et al. 2005, <http://www.dearhenryjames.org>.

²⁵⁵ SEDGWICK.ORG: A Family Genealogy: <http://www.sedgwick.org/na/library/books/sed1961/sed1961-239.html>, 239.

Walsh would refer to her by her first married name. However, Katherine Washburn had published a novel in 1871 under the name Katherine Valerio, so perhaps James' aunt is alluding to her literary career. The novel in question was entitled *Ina*, and told the tale of a young German girl who marries an Italian politician in secret, only to find out later that their marriage is not legal, leaving him free to pursue other women. Having moved to Italy from Switzerland, where they married, she lives with friends, and has to endure watching her husband become engaged to another woman. However, towards the end of the novel, she denounces him, and in a freak coincidence, he is assassinated on the same day. Ina eventually goes on to marry the son of her friend.

Although there are major differences between the novel and James' tale, not least in the plot and structure of the two fictions, the idea of a wife being subjected to the indignity of her Italian husband behaving immorally is a key theme in both tales. The novel had been reviewed in the *Atlantic Monthly* in August 1871, where the reviewer had praised the novel for being one 'which we have read with great interest', despite a few minor flaws, namely: 'the lugged-in and poor caricature of an American lady on her travels, and in the protracted speech-making of the lovers. There is sometimes, also, rather more hyperbole in the talk than even the warmth of Italian temperament will account for.'²⁵⁶ But the novel was largely praised for Ina's character – 'true in its love and trust, and true in its inability to forgive' (Rev:Ina, 255). Her strength of character may be echoed in Martha's patient suffering once her husband begins to worship the statue of Juno in James' tale.

Another source for the family name 'Valerio' comes from James' own travel notebooks of the time. In the January 4th entry, he discusses driving out of Rome along the Via Appia Nuova, writing of the Valerius family tombs:

Better still is the tomb of the Valerii adjoining [the Pancretti chambers] – a single chamber with an arched roof, covered with stucco mouldings, perfectly intact, exquisite figures and arabesques, as sharp and delicate as if the plasterer's scaffold had just been taken from under them. Strange enough to think of these things – so many of them as

²⁵⁶ Anon, 'Recent Literature: Katharine Valerio's *Ina*', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 28, Issue 166 (Aug. 1871), 254-55, 254-5, hereafter Rev:Ina.

there are – surviving their long earthly obscurity in this perfect shape, and coming up like long-lost divers from the sea of time (FRN, 681).

The family name of the title of the tale therefore not only brings up associations with the rich heritage of the Classical past, but also gives the tale a more contemporary context for his readers to reflect upon in association with the name of Katherine Valerio. James plays a similar game with the name of his heroine, Martha. The name associates her with the biblical Martha, who witnessed the rising of her brother Lazarus from the dead. In naming his characters thus, James prepares his reader for the key elements of his tale: the lineage of old Roman families, contemporary American examples of American-Italian marriages, and the reappearance of figures from the past.

James opens the tale by introducing the three main characters; Martha, her husband Count Valerio, and the narrator, Martha's godfather. This last is probably the least defined of the three; all that is known of him is that he is a 'genre painter with an eye to "subjects"' (LV, 93), and his perception of the couple is that 'from the picturesque point of view (she with her yellow locks and he with his dusky ones), they were a strikingly well-assorted pair' (LV, 89). Throughout the tale, just as James' previous narrators did, the godfather views many scenes as tableaux, such as the Count standing in the centre of the Pantheon, and the image of the Count worshipping the statue of Juno.

Importantly, it is only when describing the Count, the only Italian in the trio, that James makes any sort of cultural references to emphasise his character. This helps to create a sense of the Count's classical heritage, and also has echoes of Hawthorne's *Marble Faun*. As Robert Emmet Long writes, the Count 'has a conceptual similarity to Hawthorne's Donatello, in the sense that he has a personal affinity with the pre-Christian past.'²⁵⁷ By describing the Count in a way that alludes to Hawthorne's novel, James is able to assert how his own tale differs from Hawthorne's. Just as Donatello is compared to the *Faun of Praxiteles* in Hawthorne's novel's opening pages, the Count is compared to a classical sculpture: 'he had a head and throat like some of the busts in the Vatican. [...] a head as massively round as that of the familiar bust of the Emperor Caracalla, and covered with the same

²⁵⁷ Robert Emmet Long, *The Great Succession: Henry James and the Legacy of Hawthorne* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979), 28.

dense sculptural crop of curls' (LV, 90, fig. 48).²⁵⁸ When the narrator says it may be 'familiar', this is because there was a copy of the bust in the Boston Athenaeum (BAEI, 159). In *The Marble Faun*, Hawthorne's Miriam first notes the likeness between Donatello and the Faun, and Hawthorne then goes on to describe the statue to give the reader an idea of Donatello's appearance²⁵⁹. James does this the other way around, making the comparison between the Count and the bust of the Emperor, then describing the Count's physiognomy in greater detail; using the sculpture to allude to the fictional reality of his appearance, but letting his words do the greater amount of work. It is also important to point out that James compares the Count to an historical figure, unlike Hawthorne's comparison of Donatello to a mythical pagan creature.²⁶⁰ This implies that James' Count is not a supernatural being, but one steeped in his nation and its rulers' factual history.

²⁵⁸ Donatella Izzo notes that 'the emphasis on the count's sculptural quality is almost wholly traced by the narrator', especially interesting considering his profession as an artist. Donatella Izzo, *Portraying the Lady: Technologies of Gender in the Short Stories of Henry James* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 66, hereafter Izzo.

²⁵⁹ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ed. by Susan Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 9-11.

²⁶⁰ Taine describes a bust of Caracalla in the Capitol as 'a square, vulgar, violent head, restless like that of a wild beast about to spring'. Hippolyte Taine, *Italy: Naples and Rome*, trans. by J. Durand (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1871), 115.

In comparison to the godfather's description of the Count Valerio, his attention to Martha is relatively undefined. The reader is only given a sense of her character through her admiration for the Count, not as a woman in her own right in the way James defined Charlotte Evans or would do with Daisy Miller and Isabel Archer. This is made clear from the opening pages, when the narrator describes her 'pushing him [the Count] before her [...] she was so deeply impressed with his grandeur that she thought it impossible to honor him enough' (LV, 89); in physically pushing him before her, she seems to defer to him and let her own character be masked by his grandeur. As a result, the relationship between Martha and the Count is the focus of much of the tale, and it is through the narrator's eyes that we get a sense of the dynamic between them.

The first scene to fully illustrate the interactions between the couple is at St. Peter's. As Donatella Izzo writes, 'the fundamental scenes [...] all have places of cult as their background, be they Christian (St. Peter's), Christianized pagan (the Pantheon), or downright pagan (the Ionic temple) [...] to provide a religious framework as a context for the protagonist's alleged paganism' (Izzo, 66). In this first scene, the emphasis is on Martha's willingness to convert to Catholicism for the Count. He jokes that he should go to confession, saying 'if it casts a shade on your heart to think that I'm a heretic, I'll go and kneel down to that good old priest' (LV, 92). This is countered by the Count's revelation that he is a 'poor Catholic! I don't understand all these chants and ceremonies and splendors. [...] My poor old confessor long ago gave me up; he told me I was a good boy but a *pagan!*' (LV, 93). He is keen to leave the cathedral, saying '[t]his heavy atmosphere of St Peter's always stupefies me' (LV, 93). The contrast between Martha's willingness to convert to Catholicism and the Count's joking about his paganism shows both Martha's submissiveness and the Count's discomfort with modern Roman life; his revelation about not understanding Catholicism demonstrates this. The narrator emphasises this by describing him about to kiss Martha's hand: 'suddenly remembering they were in a place unaccordant with profane passions, he lowered it with a comical smile' (LV, 93).

Additionally, there is an element of this scene that connects James' fiction with his travel writing. James writes that Martha 'gazed into the magnificent immensity of vault and dome. I felt that she was in that enviable mood in which all consciousness revolves on a single centre, and that her sense

of the splendors around her was one with the ecstasy of her trust' (LV, 92). This is echoed in his travel sketch for the *Atlantic*, 'A Roman Holiday', in which he describes how 'you only have to stroll and stroll, and gaze and gaze, and watch the baldachino lift its bronze architecture, like a temple within a temple, and feel yourself, at the bottom of the abysmal shaft of the dome, dwindle to a crawling dot' (ARH, 10).²⁶¹ The similarity between the two passages, which both emphasise the size and impact of the dome, draws a parallel between the sketch's description of the awe felt by tourists and that of Martha, again in contrast to the Count's discomfort in the church. In doing this, James is establishing a connection between his travel writing and fiction, in a way that subtly suggests to the reader how to approach the tale. This is something he does in greater detail in his introduction of the main characters in 'Adina'.

It is Martha's desire to 'disinfect her Yankee dollars of the impertinent odor of trade' that drives her to commission the excavations of the Valerian villa (LV, 98). Her mother is quoted as saying '[i]t's the Villa she's in love with, quite as much as the Count' (LV, 91, Jeremy Tambling, incidentally, misrepresents this process as 'modernizing' the villa²⁶²). Actually, James is careful to emphasise that Martha does this with good intentions, stating she believes 'it would be a pretty compliment to the ancient house which had accepted her as mistress, to devote a portion of her dowry to bringing its mouldy honors to the light' (LV, 97-8). He foreshadows this in the opening pages of the tale, with the episode between Martha and the renovators of the villa:

She had found them *scraping* the sarcophagus in the great ilex-walk; divesting it of its mossy coat, disincrusting it of the sacred green mould of the ages! This was their idea of making the Villa comfortable. She had made them transport it to the dampest place they could find; for, next after that slow-coming, slow-going smile of her lover, it was the rusty complexion of his patrimonial marbles that she most prized (LV, 91).

Readers of the *Atlantic Monthly*, or followers of James, may well have read this and thought back to his own comments on the destruction of vegetation in the Coliseum in 'A Roman Holiday'. Amanda Claridge explains that 'enthusiastic botanists in the [nineteenth century] counted some 420

²⁶¹ Bostonian readers familiar with Panini's *Interior of St Peter's* would recognise the scale of the building (see p. 38).

²⁶² Jeremy Tambling, *Critical Issues: Henry James* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 30.

different species of flowers and other plant-life [in the Coliseum] (all eradicated in 1871 as a threat to the masonry, vegetation still thrives there when it gets a chance).²⁶³ Martha's determination to keep the moss of the Villa's treasures where it lies indicates that she is fully sympathetic to its history. This serves to emphasise the non-destructive nature of Martha's attempts to renovate the villa; she intends to give her money *cultural* value by spending it in this way, but does seem to want to profit financially from this.

Whilst James is sympathetic in his portrayal of Martha's renovations, the figures carrying out the practical aspects of the excavation are not so pleasantly represented, especially the small overseer of the site. Although this may be partly due to the narrator's natural bias towards his goddaughter, there is another side to this that has resonance when considered alongside James' own writing about excavations. The overseer is described as 'an ugly dwarfish man who seemed altogether a subterranean genius, an earthly gnome of the underworld' (LV, 99). Suzi Naiburg has written of this 'little explorer' (LV, 101) in largely psychoanalytic terms, arguing that he 'states [...] the moral of the tale: [...] there is a pagan element in all of us', before going on to explore the tale from a Freudian perspective.²⁶⁴ Similarly, Long has written that the overseer is an example of how James 'heightens the sense of the "evil germs" of the past lurking in Camillo through a muted use of Roman mythology' (Long, 28), a slightly problematic assumption because James specifically uses the word *gnome*, which was first used in the mid-seventeenth century.²⁶⁵ Despite the fact that these are beings that are 'supposed to guard the earth's treasure underground' (*OED*), the overseer is willing to divulge the whereabouts of the earth's treasures for a price; his 'malicious' smile 'suggested more delight in the money the Signor Conte was going to bury than in the expected marbles and bronzes' (LV, 101). This recalls the commercially aware sculptor in James' previous Italian tale, 'The Madonna of the Future'; the Italian here is also willing to benefit financially from the demand for excavations. In this sense, just as in his travel writing, James identifies the modernisation of Italy with the influx of tourists; here it is the presence of American money that allows the native Italian

²⁶³ Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 278.

²⁶⁴ Suzi Naiburg, 'Archaic Depths in "The Last of the Valerii"', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 14, Issue 2 (Spring 1993), 151-165, 157.

²⁶⁵ *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

to profit from the renovations. As will be seen throughout this discussion, James repeatedly associates the 'little explorer' with money or commercialism deriving from the discovery of the Juno.

The statue of Juno is discovered soon after the excavations begin. The narrator's account of it has much in common with the description of the Venus in Mérimée's 'La Vénus d'Ille', as P.R. Grover has noted.²⁶⁶ But there are a couple of significant points of contrast between James' Juno and Mérimée's Venus. Mérimée begins by writing of the Venus being a 'marvellously beautiful one',²⁶⁷ and James writes also of the Juno's 'marvellous beauty' (LV, 100), establishing a direct connection between the two tales. However, Mérimée goes on to say that 'the upper part of her body was naked, as was customary among the ancients when depicting great divinities' (VI, 140), James writes that 'she was amply draped, so that I saw that she was not a Venus. "She's a Juno," said the excavator, decisively' (LV, 101). The ample drapery of James' Juno makes it clear to a reader familiar with Mérimée's tale that the Juno is not a sexual object in the same way that Mérimée's Venus is; Mérimée goes on to describe the statue's posture in a way that subtly draws attention to her breasts and hips: 'Her right hand was raised to the level of her breast [...] [t]he other hand, held near the hip, supported the drapery that covered the lower part of her body' (VI, 140).

Mérimée writes of the style of the Venus that '[i]t had none of that calm and severe beauty of the Greek sculptors, who systematically imparted a majestic immobility to every feature. Here, on the contrary, I observed with surprise that the artist had clearly intended to render a mischievousness bordering on the vicious' (VI, 141). Contrastingly James writes of his Juno that 'though perhaps there was a sort of vague attempt at character in her expression, she was wrought, as a whole, in the large and simple manner of the great Greek period' (LV, 101). Throughout the description, James is not only inviting his reader to compare his tale to that of Mérimée, but is also making note of the exact points at which they differ. Where the Venus in 'La Vénus d'Ille' is portrayed as a sexual object,

²⁶⁶ P.R. Grover, 'Mérimée's Influence on Henry James', in *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 63, Issue 4 (Oct 1968), 810-817, 183-4.

²⁶⁷ Prosper Mérimée, 'The Venus of Ille', in *Carmen and Other Stories*, trans. by Nicholas Jotcham (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 2008), 132-161, 140, hereafter VI. The original French is '[une] merveilleuse beauté'. Prosper Mérimée, 'La Vénus D'Ille', in *Colomba et Autres Contes et Nouvelles* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1878), 152-185, 162.

with a face full of character, foreshadowing the statue's supernatural ability to come to life, James' Juno is decidedly not sexual but a historically-accurately described piece of sculpture. Adeline Tintner has noted that James seems to be 'adhering closely to the great statue of Hera in the Vatican'.²⁶⁸

There is also another possible source for James' mention of Venus in relation to the Juno. Ruskin had written about the comparison between Juno and Venus in *Modern Painters*, stating that 'I call Juno, briefly, female power. She is, especially, the goddess presiding over marriage, regarding the woman as the mistress of the household. [...] Venus [is] dominant over marriage, as the fulfillment of love; but Juno is pre-eminently the housewives' goddess.'²⁶⁹ Here again, the differentiation between Venus and Juno is a key point, and it is the fact of her being the goddess of the household that I wish to focus my attention to in discussing the rest of the tale.

The Impact of Excavation

The appearance of the Juno has a profound effect on the Count. He becomes anti-social, devoting much of his time to the worship of the statue. I would like to suggest that the germ for this aspect of the tale came from a closing observation in an *Atlantic Monthly* article entitled 'Women's Rights in Athens' (March 1871), where the writer observes that 'if the women of earth were not properly appreciated, the divine women of Olympus were worshipped with a devotion which was equal to the subsequent Christian adoration of the Mater Dolorosa'.²⁷⁰ The neglect of Martha in favour of the statue is essentially the focus of the tale from this point onward. She is worth less in the eyes of the Count. It is also notable that the Juno discovered is to some extent a figure comparable to the Madonna; she is the wife of Jove, the father of all other gods. James also insinuates a relationship

²⁶⁸ Adeline Tintner, *The Museum World of Henry James* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 36, hereafter *MWHJ*.

²⁶⁹ John Ruskin, *Modern Painters: Vol. 5* (London: Blackfriars Publishing Co., [n.d.]), 307.

²⁷⁰ B. W. Ball, 'Women's Rights in Ancient Athens', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 27, Issue 161 (March 1871), 273-286, 286. This was the leading article in the same issue that the first instalment of James' 'A Passionate Pilgrim' was published in, so it is very likely that he had read it. Henry James, 'A Passionate Pilgrim', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 27, Issue 161 (March 1871), 352-371.

between the Count's dismissal of Catholicism and his devotion to the Juno in his presentation of the Count's behaviour around the statue the day it is discovered.

The Count's reaction to the Juno is a far cry from his rather jocular realisation that he might have been committing an indiscretion in St. Peter's. Where there he lowered Martha's hand 'with a comical smile', here he treats the statue with deference. He takes a glass of wine from Martha, and the narrator relates how he 'raised it mechanically to his own [lips]; then suddenly he stopped, held it a moment aloft, and poured it out slowly and solemnly at the feet of the Juno' (LV, 103). The narrator cries out that this is 'a libation!' (LV, 103), and I would like to draw attention to the way that the Count hesitates both here and in St. Peter's. In St. Peter's he is remembering to not be disrespectful in the house of God and makes a joke of it, whereas here, he remembers that to drink would disrespect the Juno, and he makes a 'solemn' libation to it. In contrast to the Count's behaviour, the narrator observes that the workers were 'wasting no wine on pagan ceremonies' (LV, 103). This serves to emphasise to the reader that it is solely the Count who is indulging in this behaviour, thus marking him as a peculiarity.

A few days after the discovery of the statue, there are a number of enquiries about it by 'half a dozen inquisitive *conoscenti*', including 'a German in blue spectacles' who claims that the Juno is 'much more likely to be a Proserpine' (LV, 103). For magazine readers of the time, the fact the connoisseur is German may well have pointed towards the two articles about German Classical criticism in the *North American Review*, mentioned previously. Both not only go into rather pedantic detail about the differences between Greek and Roman conceptions of Juno, but also discuss Proserpine (RAR, 52),²⁷¹ suggesting that James is alluding to this school of thought in his description of the archaeologist. The Count is adamant that he doesn't want to share the Juno with anyone, 'savagely' denying her existence to the German, and saying 'I'm to see her: that's enough!' to the narrator (LV, 104). In alluding to contemporary Classical scholarship, James is drawing attention to the fact that the statue is of historical and aesthetic public interest, whilst the Count is interested in it for private, religious ends.

²⁷¹ William F. Allen, 'The Religion of Ancient Greece', in *North American Review*, Vol. 109, Issue 224 (July 1869), 106-122, 120.

Later, the “little explorer” comes to the narrator and tells him he suspects the Count of having stolen the statue’s hand. He goes on to talk of the Juno itself, saying ‘[s]o beautiful a creature is more or less the property of every one; we’ve all a right to look at her. But the count treats her as if she were a sacrosanct image of the Madonna. He keeps her under lock and key and pays her solitary visits. What does he do, after all? When a beautiful woman is in stone, all he can do is look at her’ (LV, 105). This observation raises a number of issues. Firstly, it emphasises the explorer’s pre-occupation with showing the statue and its ownership, presumably with a view to profiting from it. Secondly, in comparing the Juno to the Madonna, it not only repeats the inference that the Count is revering the statue as a religious icon, but also refers back to the *Atlantic Monthly* article that draws the connection between pagan female icons and the Virgin Mary. Finally, in talking about the Count only being able to look at the statue, he is making a reference to the Pygmalion myth.²⁷² This suggests the explorer believes there to be a sexual aspect to the Count’s infatuation, which has become the focus of a number of critical interpretations,²⁷³ and whilst these have some legitimacy, the narrator brings the focus of the rest of the tale more onto the religious aspects of the situation, despite ‘wondering what the deuce [the explorer] meant’ (LV, 105).

The narrator initially dismisses the Count’s behaviour as ‘the first rapture of possession’, but once he realises the Count’s negligence towards his goddaughter, his attitude changes: ‘when she approached him with some persuasive caress, he received it with an ill-concealed shudder [...] I grew to hate the Count and everything that belonged to him’ (LV, 106). He traces the source of the Count’s ‘cruelty [...] back to the bloody medley of mediaeval wars, – back through the long, fitfully glaring dusk of the early ages to its ponderous origins in the solid Roman state’ (LV, 107), clearly associating the Count’s behaviour with his Roman heritage that the Juno has awakened.

²⁷² See also: J. Hillis Miller, *Versions of Pygmalion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 211-243.

²⁷³ See especially Dorothy Berkson, “Tender-Minded Idealism and Erotic Repression in James’s “Madame de Mauves” and “The Last of the Valerii””, in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 2, Issue 2 (Winter 1981), 78-86.

This is followed by a scene in which the narrator finds the Count sitting in front of an 'old weather-worn Hermes', another Pagan icon (LV, 108). He says:

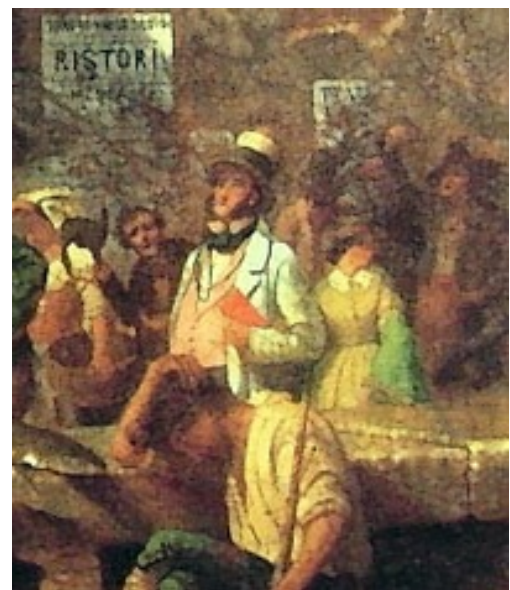
I used to be afraid of him; his frown reminded me of a little bushy-browed old priest who taught me Latin [...] But now it seems to me the friendliest, jolliest thing in the world [...] He stood pouting with his great lips in some old Roman's garden two thousand years ago. He saw the sandaled feet treading the alleys and the rose-crowned heads bending over the wine; he knew the old feasts and the old worship, the old Romans and the old gods. As I sit here he speaks to me, in his own dumb way, and describes it all! (LV, 108).

Michael Clark makes a good observation when he notes that the Count previously considered the Hermes as 'associated with modern Christianity' in the form of the Catholic priest, and that this is 'no bar to a pagan's regaining his roots.'²⁷⁴ However, I would disagree with Clark's assertion that the Hermes is representative of 'pagan phallicism', and that the Count 'portrays the statue as strongly suggestive of the joys of sexuality' (Clark, 211), as Clark focuses on these suggestive sexual aspects of the tale to the exclusion of the more tangible ones. Considering the way James portrays the rest of the Classical gods and goddesses in the tale, I would say that the Hermes is being used far more simply. The Count, now freed from associating the Hermes with Catholicism, due to his rediscovered paganism, is able to view the god from this perspective: a messenger of the gods who can 'speak' and 'describe' the Rome of the past. From this point onwards, the narrator is less angry with the Count, rather dismissing him as 'crazy' and 'unsound' (LV, 108-9). As James builds up the associations between the Count's paganism and the Juno, the narrator's descriptions of him become less and less antagonistic.

The next scene is in the Pantheon, where again James emphasises the continuity between the Count's Paganism and Christianity. The narrator describes it as 'the great temple which its Christian altars have but half converted into a church. No Roman monument retains a deeper impress of ancient life, or verifies more forcibly those prodigious beliefs which we are apt to regard as dim fables. The dusky dome seems to the spiritual ear to hold a vague reverberation of pagan worship,

²⁷⁴ Michael Clark, "The Hermes in Henry James's "The Last of the Valerii", in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 10, Issue 3 (Fall 1989), 210-213, 211, hereafter Clark.

as a gathered shell holds the rumour of the sea' (LV, 109). The Pantheon was clearly associated at the time with ancient Roman worship intermingled with Christian faith, as Higginson emphasised when describing 'in a photograph of the Pantheon, the whole soul of the ancient faith in the words "Deo : Opt : Max"' (GG, 107), roughly meaning 'Almighty God of all'. In much the same way, in referring to the dome of the temple, James is drawing a comparison between Martha's experience of Saint Peter's and the Count's experience in the Pantheon.²⁷⁵ The Count says of the open dome that 'the pagan gods and goddesses used to come sailing through it and take their places at their altars. What a procession, when the eyes of faith could see it!', before criticising the incumbent Christian iconography: 'I should like to pull down their pictures, overturn their candlesticks, and poison their holy-water!' (LV, 110). It is telling that at this point in the narrative, the narrator realises that he has discovered 'the source of [the Count's] trouble', and is 'amused and comforted. The Count had suddenly become [...] a delightfully curious phenomenon' (LV, 111). In realising that the Count is merely 'a son of old Italy' (LV, 111), the narrator is able to understand that the Count's behaviour stems from his rediscovered paganism, not from any other source, and the sexually suggestive imagery is no longer used in the tale. Moreover, the Count reveals that he 'never came here till the other day', leaving it 'to the *forestieri*. They go about with their red books, and read about this and that, and think they know it!' (LV, 110). This demonstrates the way the temple has changed in use over the centuries, not only from pagan to Christian, but also from place of worship to place of tourism – no doubt many of these tourists with their red books, Baedeker or Murray's *Handbooks* – are American, like his neglected wife. The description also echoes Bierstadt's *Arch of Octavius*, which depicts a pair of wealthy tourists with their red travel guides in stark contrast to the native Italians around them (fig. 49). The little explorer emphasises the Count's change of



(fig. 49) Albert Bierstadt, detail of *Roman Fish Market, or The Arch of Octavius* (1858), Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco.

²⁷⁵ In 'A Roman Holiday', James had also made the connection between the Pantheon and St. Peter's, quoting a friend saying that apart from them and the Vatican 'there's not a fine building in Rome' (ARH, 9).

religion, saying that '[t]here's a pagan element in all of us, – I don't speak for you, *illustrissimi forestieri*, – and the old gods have still their worshippers' (LV, 115). Using the term '*forestieri*' (meaning strangers or foreigners) here again serves to reinforce this change in the way Roman artifacts are used. He himself understands its modern worth, 'shrugg[ing]' off the fact that the Juno is Martha's 'rival', saying 'but the Juno is worth fifty thousand scudi!' (LV, 116), emphasising its monetary value over the disruption to Martha's marriage and happiness.

For readers familiar with the discussion of the neglect of wives in favour of goddesses in 'Women's Rights in Ancient Greece', the reasons for the Count's behaviour towards Martha might seem clear. Whilst most critics focus on her statement that '[h]is Juno's the reality; I'm the fiction!' (LV, 117),²⁷⁶ I would like to discuss her description of the impact the Juno has on their marriage. She says that 'he's welcome to any faith, if he will only share it with me. I'll believe in Jupiter, if he'll bid me! My sorrow's not for that: let my husband be himself! My sorrow is for the gulf of silence and indifference that has burst open between us' (LV, 117). This emphasises how much the Count values the statue – a distinctly pagan trait according to Ball – over Martha, who is believed to be 'an inconvertible modern [...] he has left you behind, as a pledge to the present' (LV, 117). When she finally goes to see the Juno for herself, to 'guess how she charms him' (LV, 117), she finds a pool of blood from an animal sacrifice; the narrator fully understands the Count when he remembers 'there is blood and blood, and the Latins were posterior to the cannibals' (LV, 118). The lack of Christian iconography indicates that the Count's conversion is complete; '[W]e seemed really to stand in a pagan temple, and we gazed at the serene divinity with an impulse of spiritual reverence' (LV, 118). Yet when the Count returns, the narrator notes that the blood was 'the last instalment of his debt and the end of his delusion' (LV, 118), although he is not ready to reconcile with his wife.

The tale reaches its conclusion once Martha asserts her control over the Juno, saying: 'She's beautiful, she's precious, but she must go back!' (LV, 120), and orders her to be placed back in the earth. The explorer is also present at the re-interment of the Juno, and 'betrayed an agreeable

²⁷⁶ See: Izzo, 61; Phyllis van Slyck, 'Trapping the Gaze', in *"The Finer Thread, The Tighter Weave": Essays on the Short Fiction of Henry James*, ed. by Joseph Dewey & Brooke Horvath (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001), 217-234, 220; S. Gorley Putt, *The Fiction of Henry James: A Reader's Guide* (London: Penguin, 1968), 68.

consciousness of knowing where fifty thousand scudi were buried' (LV, 121). Considering his discussion of the Count earlier, his presence helps to reassert the view of the modern Roman, wholly willing to profit from the ancient history of his city, unlike the Count, whose heritage won't allow him to. The burial takes on a Christian edge, easing the reader back into the present day: 'The Countess took a handful of earth and dropped it solemnly on [Juno's] breast. "May it lie lightly, but forever!" she said. "Amen!" cried the little surveyor with a strange mocking inflection' (LV, 121).

When Martha and the Count reconcile, she is 'pretend[ing] to occupy herself with a piece of embroidery' (LV, 121), the actions of a dutiful Victorian wife, and this seems to attract the Count once again: 'The image seemed to fascinate him: he came in slowly, almost on tiptoe, [...] and stood there in a sort of rapt contemplation' (LV, 121). The imagery here again has a touch of religious reverence to it. Now the Juno is gone, the Count has now returned to give his wife the attention she should expect in a modern setting; he has fully returned from his Pagan roots. The final scene, where the Count asserts that the hand of Juno that he has kept as a souvenir of sorts is 'Greek', not 'Roman' (LV, 122), is worth considering in the context. Whilst for most critics and readers, this is simply disassociating the hand from the Count's Roman heritage, for the reader of 'Women's Rights in Ancient Athens' it could be read as an acknowledgment of the Count's behaviour being derived from this source.²⁷⁷ The end of the tale fully reconciles the Count as a "Modern", fully attentive to his duties as a husband to Martha. In his next tale, 'Adina', James was to recycle this motif of the Roman past disturbing modern Roman life, whilst also alluding to his own travel sketches in greater depth, suggesting his awareness of his growing readership.

Adina

James wrote 'Adina' during the period when he was unsure whether or when 'The Last of the Valerii' would be published, and there are a number of similarities between the tales. The motif of the excavated Roman artifact is again a key theme, as is the way this affects American-Italian relations.

²⁷⁷ I would therefore disagree with Naiburg's statement that '[t]he Count's identification of the statue as Greek rather than Roman indicates that his affinities are more with Hera than with Juno, with the more poetic and older religious tradition of the Greeks than with the more functional, civic, and secular tradition of the Romans' (Naiburg, 160).

Yet in this tale, whilst keeping the basic elements of the tale the same, James changes the traits of his characters quite radically. Its American protagonist Sam Scrope is unethical and keen to exploit what he perceives to be the naivety of the Italian Angelo. However, although Adina, the American heroine, is innocent like Martha, she is used as a token of exchange in revenge for Sam Scrope's exploitation of Angelo, her economic value being emphasised in contrast to Martha's moral value as a wife. In the context of the publication of the tale – James had sent it to *Scribner's*, a rival of the *Atlantic Monthly's*, in order to maintain his literary income – it is perhaps unsurprising that this tale is so concerned with the economic aspects of the interest in classical Roman culture. James doesn't seem to be directly engaging with the *Scribner's* readership in the same way that he does with his regular *Atlantic* readers. I will therefore explore this tale mainly in relation to 'The Last of the Valerii', particularly signalling the allusions he makes to works of his own that were due to appear in the *Atlantic Monthly*. I will follow the same structure of examining first James' presentation of the dynamics between the American and Italian characters, then the discovery and sale of the excavated object and the impact this has on the relationships between the characters. However, since the tale uses fewer cultural references than 'The Last of the Valerii', I will only be focusing on parts of it that are relevant to understanding the tale in the wider context of James' writing about Italy at the time.

Title and Characters

Just as he did in 'The Last of the Valerii', James makes similar use of his character's names to draw comparisons with other cultural sources. Most notably here, this is done with the name of the titular character: Adina. In this tale, the source of this name is not from history, the bible, or popular fiction, but from the world of opera.²⁷⁸ Adina is the name of a character in Donizetti's *L'Elisire D'Amore*. In the *Atlantic Monthly*, the pianist and composer Louis M. Gottschalk wrote about a performance of *L'Elisire D'Amore* in which the soprano playing Adina 'looked [...] like a wounded lioness'.²⁷⁹ The casual way Gottschalk writes about the opera suggests that it was already well

²⁷⁸ See also Pierre A Walker's suggestion of Wagner's Ring Cycle as a source. Pierre A. Walker, "'Adina': Henry James's Roman Allegory of Power and the Representation of the Foreign", in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 21, Issue 1 (Winter 2000), 14-26, 16-20, hereafter Walker.

²⁷⁹ Louis M. Gottschalk, 'Notes of a Pianist', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 15, Issue 91 (May 1865), 573-575, 575.

known – it was first performed in New York in 1838, and has remained popular ever since.²⁸⁰ Adina is the central female figure of the opera, a wealthy landowner who is admired by a young peasant called Nemorino, just as Adina is by Angelo in James' tale. Nemorino purchases a magical love potion from a travelling doctor, Dulcamara, which turns out to be nothing more than cheap wine. The Doctor willingly cons him, calling him 'the biggest' of all the 'marvelous fools', in much the same way Sam Scrope cons Angelo.²⁸¹ In making an allusion to the opera in the title of the tale, James makes Adina the subject of desire, whilst also insinuating that the simple peasant character in *L'Elisire D'Amore*, Nemorino, is similar to Angelo, and Sam Scrope's counterpart is Dr. Dulcamara. This gives his readership a sense of the relationship dynamics of the tale, and the pre-occupation with exchanges and valuations that are to come.

In 'Adina', the two main characters are Sam Scrope, an American Classicist, and the unnamed American narrator, a self-confessed romantic, of a similar aesthetic disposition to the godfather in 'The Last of the Valerii'. James characterises the narrator's Roman experience as being more 'loose sentiment than rigid science', implying the scientific approach is more Scrope's; he is described as being 'a punctilious classical scholar' (Adina, 212).²⁸² Whilst the narrator makes no specific reference to Scrope's scholarly pursuits, he illustrates his own interests, talking of 'quoting from Byron', and quoting the view 'from Alfieri that the "human plant" grew stronger in Italy than anywhere else' to Scrope (Adina, 212).²⁸³ James makes use of the two characters in a vaguely similar way to his portrayal of the differing sentimental values of Mr. Brooke and Miss Evans in 'Travelling Companions'; one stands for facts, the other for more fanciful poetry, or the picturesque. The narrator writes that Scrope 'considered me absurdly Byronic, and when, in the manner of

²⁸⁰ *Kobbé's Opera Book*, ed. by The Earl of Harewood & Antony Peattie (London: Ebury Press, 1997), 194.

²⁸¹ Donizetti, *L'Elisire D'Amore: Containing the Italian Text, with an English Translation* (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1885), 17.

²⁸² There is a possibility James is satirising his friend, Charles Eliot Norton here, whose scholarly *Notes of Study and Travel in Italy* would have been well-known at the time. But considering the unflattering light in which Scrope is portrayed, it seems unlikely.

²⁸³ In his autobiography, Vittorio Alfieri, the eighteenth century poet, had 'set out to portray the growth of the artistic mind – the *pianta uomo* – as an organic alternative to the mechanistic views of the eighteenth century'. Giancarlo Maiorino, 'Alfieri, Vittorio', in *Cassell Dictionary of Italian Literature*, ed. by Peter Bondanella & Julia Conway Bondanella (London: Cassell, 1996), 7-10, 8.

tourists of that period, I breathed poetic sighs over the subjection of Italy to the foreign foe, he used to swear that Italy had got no more than she deserved, that she was a land of vagabonds and declaimers, and that he had yet to see an Italian whom he would call a man' (Adina, 212). When one considers the way James discusses Scrope's disdain for the picturesque in comparison to some of James' own travel writings, particularly 'Roman Rides', it is clear that Scrope is far removed from James' own attitudes.

In 'Roman Rides' – published in August 1873, almost a year before 'Adina' – James describes encountering a shepherd in the Campagna: '[he] was a perfect type of pastoral weather-beaten misery. He was precisely the shepherd for the foreground of a scratchy etching' (RR, 191). In 'Adina', the narrator recounts '[i]f we met a shepherd in the Campagna, leaning on his crook and gazing at us darkly from under the shadow of his matted locks, I would proclaim he was the handsomest fellow in the world, and demand of Scrope to stop and let me sketch him. Scrope would confound him for a filthy scarecrow, and me for a driveling poet' (Adina, 212). The reader of James' sketch and the tale would probably recognise the narrator's sentiments as being in line with James' as presented in 'Roman Rides', and therefore associate Scrope with a perspective outside of James' own. Scrope's distaste for beauty is excused by the narrator as being due to his own ugliness: 'He was consciously a harsh note in the midst of so many yellow harmonies; everything seemed to say to him – "Don't you wish you were as easy, as loveable, as carelessly beautiful as we?"' (Adina, 212-3). In this sense, this sentiment could be read as the narrator trying to generate sympathy for Scrope. However, whilst giving the reader a fuller sense of Scrope's character by giving a reason for his disdain for beauty, James subtly portrays him unsympathetically.

James emphasises the connection between the tale and his travel sketch again when he introduces Angelo Beati a few pages later as the pair ride through the Campagna. In 'Roman Rides', he writes that '[a]t your side, constantly, you have the broken line of the Claudian Aqueduct carrying its broad arches far away into the plain. [...] They seem the very source of the solitude in which they stand; they loom like architectural spectres' (RR, 194). In 'Adina', he writes a similarly evocative description of how Scrope and the narrator 'rode away across the broad meadows over which the Claudian Aqueduct drags its slow length – stumbling and lapsing here and there, as it does, beneath

the burden of the centuries' (Adina, 213). Having established a connection between the travel sketch and his tale, James continues to develop this. In 'Roman Rides', he writes that if one were to 'station a peasant with a sheepskin coat and bandaged legs in the shadow of the tomb or tower [...] the picture has a charm which has not yet been sketched away' (RR, 194). In Adina, the narrator and Sam Scrope encounter precisely this 'near a low fragment of ruin, which seemed to be all that was left of an ancient tower [...] a figure asleep on the grass' (Adina, 213-4). Later the narrator observes that 'he was altogether as handsome a vagabond as you could wish for the foreground of a pastoral landscape' (Adina, 215). Whilst earlier in the tale, Sam Scrope is placed in opposition to the sentiments of 'Roman Rides', Angelo is portrayed here as fulfilling that article's desire for a human element in the picturesque landscape. Readers of James familiar with his writing might have also recognised his use of this technique in 'At Isella'.

The narrator recounts that he said "'...this young Roman clodhopper, as he lies snoring there, is really statuesque;" "clodhopper," was for argument, for our rustic Endymion, judging from his garments, was something better than a mere peasant' (Adina, 214).²⁸⁴ In referring to Endymion, the narrator achieves two things. Firstly, he refers to the statuesque features of Angelo, an allusion to Canova's sculpture of the *Sleeping Endymion* in Chatsworth, England. James had visited the country house in June 1872, writing about it in a travel sketch for *The Nation*.²⁸⁵ The description of Angelo's posture emulates that of the statue (fig. 50): 'One of his legs was flung over the other; one of his arms was thrust back under his head, and the other resting loosely on the grass; his head drooped backward, and exposed a strong, young, throat' (Adina, 214). The reference to the sculpture, although perhaps not instantly recognisable to the untravelled reader, still associates Angelo with beauty and the picturesque, a sharp contrast to Scrope's ugliness. Bierstadt's *Arch of Octavius* in the Boston Athenaeum portrays a sleeping peasant in a similar position, providing James' untravelled readers with an alternative, more accessible image to refer to (fig. 51). Secondly, in referring to the myth of Endymion, the eternally sleeping shepherd, James is also making an allusion to the Roman goddess Diana, who watches over Endymion. Joyce Tayloe Horrell has noted that Adina is an

²⁸⁴ Angelo turns out to be the nephew of the 'Padre Girolamo at Lariccia' (Adina, 216), so although not a peasant, not a highly ranking member of society.

²⁸⁵ See *CL1872-76:1*, 15, and Henry James, 'A European Summer II: Lichfield and Warwick', in *The Nation*, Vol. 15 (25th July 1872), 57-58.

anagram for Diana²⁸⁶, so in this sense, referring to Angelo as Endymion could be interpreted as James prefiguring the outcome of the tale; Adina's wealth gives Angelo the freedom to live idly. The narrator also describes him as having 'the frame of a young Hercules' (Adina, 215). The association of Angelo with classical mythology is a contrast to that of Count Valerio with Roman historical figures in 'The Last of the Valerii'. By identifying Count Valerio with morally dubious emperors from the Roman decadence, James forewarns his readers of the pagan worship the Count will indulge in throughout the tale. In the case of 'Adina', by associating Angelo with mythical heroes, he encourages his reader to view him in opposition to Scrope, who stands for facts and scholarship.

(fig. 50) Antonio Canova, *The Sleeping Endymion* (1819-22), Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.



(fig. 51) Albert Bierstadt, detail of *Roman Fish Market, or The Arch of Octavius* (1858), Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco.

Whilst the narrator is praising Angelo's '[g]entle, serene Italian nature!' (Adina, 215), Scrope notices a 'dull-coloured oval object' and determines to discover what it is, the narrator noting that he 'was very fond of bric-a-brac [...] what he looked for [...] was not beauty of form nor romantic association; it was elaborate and patient workmanship, fine engraving, skillful method' (Adina, 215). Again, the contrast between the romance of the situation in the eyes of the narrator, and the

²⁸⁶ Joyce Tayloe Horrell, 'James and the Art of Naming', in *On Henry James: The Best from American Literature*, ed. by Louis J. Budd & Edwin H. Cady (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1990), 172-189, 177-8

interest in profiting from the 'precious' object from Scrope's perspective is brought to attention (Adina, 216).

Bartering for the Intaglio

There is a possible source for James' use of the intaglio that gives his portrayal of it some context, an article from the October 1866 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, entitled 'Scarabaei ed Altri' by W. J. Stillman, which discusses the archaeological history of Classical precious stones.²⁸⁷ The final two pages focus on modern Roman trading of these artifacts, and the abundance of fake intaglios to be found. The article talks of the various ways in which these intaglios are purchased and sold on in a market populated by 'a class [...] of cheats' (SA, 445). James makes mention of this trade in the already quoted 'After-Season in Rome', where he observes 'the tourists who haggle over false intaglio' in the city (ASR, 399). The article includes an anecdote of a peasant playing bowls who 'struck with his ball a piece of hardened mud, which flew in pieces, disclosing an exquisite intaglio head of Nero in carnelian, in perfect condition, for which the finder received ten scudi' (SA, 445). I would suggest this as a source for James' tale – Scrope's bartering with Angelo is for almost the same amount, eleven scudi, and the accidental discovery of an intaglio of a Roman emperor is an identical motif.

Sam Scrope takes a keen interest in the object that turns out to be the intaglio from the start of the encounter with Angelo, at the expense of studying Angelo himself, although the narrator is more than happy to fill this gap in the narrative: 'I left him to examine [the intaglio]. I was more interested in watching the Padre Girolamo's nephew' (Adina, 216). Scrope instead 'flushe[s] excitedly' at the object, quietly revealing he believes it to be 'immense – if it's what I think it is' (Adina, 217). The object is described as being 'the size of a small hen's-egg, of a dull brown colour, stained and encrusted by long burial and deeply corrugated on one surface' (Adina, 217), but Scrope is aware of what lies beneath the dirt. His instinct is to 'knock [Angelo] in the head with the

²⁸⁷ W. J. Stillman, 'Scarabaei ed Altri', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 18, Issue 108 (Oct. 1866), 435-445, hereafter SA. James' 'The Novels of George Eliot' also appeared in the same issue of the magazine, so it is highly likely that he had read it. Henry James, 'The Novels of George Eliot', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 18, Issue 108 (Oct. 1866), 479-492.

butt end of his blunderbuss' (Adina, 217), instead of fairly buying it from him, but the narrator suggests he barter for it. Scrope urges him that Angelo 'must sell it as a turnip' – i.e. not realise its value – and asks the origin of the intaglio.

Here, James once again alludes to Mérimée's 'La Vénus d'Ille' in his relating of the discovery of the artifact. Angelo recounts that he had found an ilex tree scarred by lightning: '[t]he tree had been shivered, and killed, and the earth turned up at its foot' (Adina, 218). He thrust the muzzle of his gun into the 'aperture' the lightning had created, saying that it 'stopped with a strange noise, as if it were striking a metallic surface. I rammed it up and down, and heard the same noise' (Adina, 218). Similarly in 'La Vénus d'Ille', a handyman recounts digging up an 'old olive tree that had caught the frost', with his companion, Jean Coll. Whilst doing so, Jean Coll 'takes a swing with his pick, and I heard this "dong", as if he'd struck a bell' (VI, 133). The sound made by both artifacts implies a connection between the two tales; certainly in both cases the excavation unsettles the balance of the lives of those in the tale. Angelo claims that 'Julius Caesar had worn it in his crown!', to which Scrope drily replies that 'Caesar wore no crown' (Adina, 218), emphasising his pre-occupation with facts.

Angelo receives Scrope's offer of 'ten scudi' with 'a dumb appeal to his fairness', to which Scrope 'flung down another', the initial offer of ten scudi echoing the amount paid to the peasant in Stillman's article. As Scrope and the narrator leave, Angelo asks whether Scrope has 'a good conscience?' when he asks if he is satisfied with the exchange, suggesting that Angelo is vaguely aware of having been exploited. For the narrator, Scrope's behaviour is 'sophistry', even though he tries to excuse his behaviour by claiming to have 'rescued it in the interest of art, of science, of taste' (Adina, 220-1). Despite Scrope's lengthy justification of his exploitation of Angelo, and his assurance that he 'mean[s] never to turn [his] stone into money', the narrator is unimpressed with the exchange, relating that he 'began to hate the stone; it seemed to have corrupted him' (Adina, 221). Compared to Martha's attempt to 'cleanse' her money, Scrope's money is used to deceive and exploit. The narrator's disdain for his behaviour, coupled with the way James portrays Angelo in comparison to Scrope, therefore diminishes the reader's sympathy for him.

A week later, the intaglio is revealed in all its 'imperial beauty' (Adina, 222). The narrator describes it in great detail:

In the centre was a full-length naked figure, which I supposed first to be a pagan deity. Then I saw the orb of sovereignty in one outstretched hand, the chiseled emperor scepter in the other, and the laurel-crown on the low-browed head. All round the face of the stone, near the edges, ran a chain of carven figures – warriors, and horses, and chariots, and young men and women interlaced in elaborate confusion. Over the head of the image, within this concave frieze, stood the inscription:

DIVUS TIBERIUS CAESAR TOTIUS ORBIS IMPERATOR

[The divine Tiberius Caesar Emperor of the whole world] (Adina, 222).

Adeline Tintner suggests that the description of the cameo derives from 'two well-known intaglios, one in Paris, and one in Vienna' that James 'probably saw, one at the Louvre and the other in reproduction' (*MWHJ*, 41). Considering the number of times James mentions being in the Louvre in his letters during both his 1869-70 trip and his 1872 visit to Paris, it is certainly likely that James had seen these. Tintner notes that '[i]nscriptions are not common in Roman gems, but James makes his invented one work dramatically' (*MWHJ*, 42), but I would suggest that the Latin inscription again connects the gem with the Venus of Mérimée's tale, which contains a lengthy discussion of the statue's Latin inscription (VI, 142-4), echoing the sense that the excavation has uncovered something dangerous from the past.

Additionally, the description of the intaglio in all its detail associates it to an even greater level with Stillman's article. Stillman writes that '[o]f the finer kind of intaglii, there is little danger of buying counterfeits, since the art of gem-cutting is too low now to permit of such counterfeits, as might be mistaken for first-rate antiques' (SA, 445). Earlier in the article he gives an example of this, writing of buying 'a small emerald [...] for one scudo, as a basso-impero of ordinary quality. My eyes were better, and had seen, in what [the seller] thought a handful of flowers, a cross; and on cleaning it we found it to be an early Christian stone of much greater value than he supposed, to his great chagrin' (SA, 444). The satisfaction Stillman betrays in this anecdote is echoed in Scrope's proud statement '[h]aven't I worked all these days and nights, with my little rags and files, to some purpose? I've annulled the centuries – I've resuscitated a *totius orbis imperator*' (Adina, 223). A

reader familiar with Stillman's article and the 'great chagrin' of the duped seller might therefore be able to foresee Angelo's return and desire for revenge.

Adina and Angelo

'Juxtaposition is everything' (Adina, 224), the narrator quotes from Arthur Hugh Clough's *Amours de Voyage*, before introducing the tale's heroine, Adina Warrington, who is to be engaged to Sam Scrope. The poem, notably first published in the US in the *Atlantic*, tells the story of Claude, an English tourist unimpressed with 'rubbishy' Rome, who falls in love with the young Mary Trevellyn.²⁸⁸ In directly mentioning the poem, James may suggest that Scrope echoes Claude's disillusionment with the city, and Adina's beauty serves as a juxtaposition to his ugliness. Having implied this difference between Scrope and Adina, the narrator goes on to explore this through the way he presents her. Adina is

portrayed as a striking, yet quiet character: 'She wore her auburn hair twisted into a thousand fantastic braids, like a coiffure in a Renaissance drawing, and she looked at you from grave blue eyes, in which, behind a cold shyness, there seemed to lurk a tremendous promise to be franker when she knew you better' (Adina, 225). This is visually suggestive of Bronzino's painting of *Lucrezia Panchiatichi* (fig. 52), which James was to allude to in a similar fashion in *The Wings of the Dove*. By describing her in a pictorial sense, he places her



(fig. 52), Bronzino, *Lucrezia Panchiatichi* (1545), Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

²⁸⁸ Arthur Hugh Clough, 'Amours de Voyage', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 1, Issue 4 (Feb. 1858), 419-426, 420.

alongside Angelo Beati, suggestive of her future elopement with him. In the meantime however, the narrator and Scrope 'rarely spoke of the imperial topaz' (Adina, 227), but they bring it up again once Scrope announces his engagement to Adina.

At this point I would like to suggest another source for the tale: a short poem by T. B. Aldrich, which appeared in the *Atlantic*, entitled 'On an Intaglio Head of Minerva'.²⁸⁹ The poem considers the intaglio from the perspective of its varied ownership; first Aldrich talks of 'the cunning hand that carved this face', perhaps for 'some brown girl that scorned his passion' (Minerva, Lines 1 & 8). Having laid buried for centuries, the cameo is dug up by 'some Visconti', where it now 'rise[s] and fall[s] on Mabel's bosom!' (Minerva, lines 19-20). Mabel, it would appear, is the Anglo-Saxon recipient of the gem, and the final stanza of the poem brings back the attention to its creator:

Who would not suffer slights of men,
And pangs of hopeless passion also,
To have his carven agate-stone,
On such a bosom rise and fall so! (Minerva, lines 25-28)

In this poem, Aldrich presents the excavation of the stone in a positive light; the forgotten engraver can live in glory now his gem has found such a beautiful model. This was published in the August 1873 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, well before James sent 'Adina' to *Scribner's* at the end of October.

As a result, James may have this in mind when the narrator and Scrope discuss giving the intaglio to Adina as a wedding gift. But the narrator doesn't seem to think it a suitable gift, despite saying it 'certainly would light up the world more, on the bosom of a beautiful woman'. He says that, to his sense, 'only a beauty of a certain type could properly wear it – a splendid, dusky beauty, with the brow of a Roman Empress, and the shoulders of an antique statue. A fair, slender girl, with blue eyes, and a sweet smile, would seem, somehow, to be overweighted by it, and if I were to see it hung, for instance, round Miss Waddington's white neck, I should feel as if it were pulling her down to the ground' (Adina, 228-9). Unlike Mabel, the female subject of Aldrich's poem, Adina is an unsuitable model for the intaglio, which the narrator believes would give her 'a mysterious pain' (Adina, 229).

²⁸⁹ T. B. Aldrich, 'On an Intaglio Head of Minerva', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 32, Issue 190 (Aug. 1873), 165, hereafter Minerva.

Here the glory of the sculptor's hand will not be allowed to flourish, because of the ill means by which Scrope has acquired the intaglio, which seems to have tainted it. Scrope replies that 'Adina may not have the shoulders of Venus de Milo, [...] but I hope it will take more than a bauble like this to make her stoop' (Adina, 229). These questions as to which type of beauty the intaglio would most suit emphasises its Classical history, and the suggestion that it would weigh down Adina calls into question its value when worn by an American heiress. Adina herself later admits that 'the stone is beautiful, but I should feel most uncomfortable in carrying the Emperor Tiberius so near my heart. Was he one of the bad Emperors – one of the worst?' (Adina, 236). Here James doesn't seem to be referencing a particular historian's view of Tiberius, although Tacitus' portrayal of him as 'pitiless, passionless, adamantly closed to any human feeling', shaped most perceptions of him, and invites comparisons to James' portrayal of Scrope himself.²⁹⁰ The fundamental point of these discussions of the intaglio is that it seems incompatible with modern American life.

Immediately after this, the narrator encounters Angelo once more, and he reveals that he realises he has lost a potential fortune in selling the intaglio so cheaply. He offers to buy it back, but to no avail, and angrily says '[i]f ever there was a harmless fellow, I was. [...] I'm not harmless now. [...] I shall think only of my *revenge*!' (Adina, 233). The rest of the tale makes little use of cultural material to add to his character's development. Instead James' focus is on the way Angelo becomes awakened from his pastoral Endymion-like sleep and becomes modernised – aware of the comparative value of objects and people. In the second half of the tale, Angelo meets Adina for the first time. Her mother romanticises him in just the same way the narrator did in the first part, exclaiming '[w]hat a beautiful creature for a sketch!' (Adina, 238), although the narrator now knows he is no longer simply picturesque. Angelo's awareness of 'value' is characterised by the way he describes Adina and Sam Scrope's engagement, saying that Scrope 'has more than his share of good luck [...] A topaz – and a pearl! Both at once!' (Adina, 238). Scrope's cheating of him has transformed Angelo, to borrow the word from Hawthorne's original title of *The Marble Faun*, from an idyllic creature of the pastoral landscape, into a modern, commercially aware man.

²⁹⁰ Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, trans. by Michael Grant (London: Penguin, 1996), 125.

The American group end up moving from Rome to the nearby town of Albano for a month; the site of another of James' travel sketches, 'Roman Neighbourhoods'. Whilst this does not add much to the narrative, it helps to give the reader a deeper sense of the surroundings. Angelo repeatedly appears in the garden of the villa they're staying in, and engages in a silent courtship with Adina, using a code of 'shutters tied back with a handkerchief' at her window at night (Adina, 250). The narrator observes that 'it *might* be out of a novel – such a thing as love at first sight; such a thing as an unspoken dialogue, between a handsome young Italian with a “wrong,” in a starlit garden, and a fanciful western maiden at a window' (Adina, 250). Whilst the narrator likens it to a novel, the motif of the late-night meetings at a window suggests the famous balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*, and the narrator's characterisation of the meetings doesn't suggest any immorality in their meeting. When the two finally do elope, causing somewhat of a scandal, Angelo's revenge is complete.

When the narrator goes to visit the newly-weds, it is clear that Adina is 'vexed by [his] visit. She wished to utterly forget her past' (Adina, 255). Her 'frigid mask of reserve' stays put throughout the encounter, and she says that she 'only ask[s] to be forgotten' (Adina, 255-6). Angelo on the other hand is delighted with the exchange; he has taken something of greater value than the original topaz, both in terms of monetary value – his uncle notes that Adina, as an heiress, 'can do what she likes with her money; she has a good deal of it, eh?' (Adina, 254) – and marital value. Adina's value is far greater than the topaz in the sense that she provides a source of financial income and companionship. Although Angelo is perhaps not fully morally justified in taking Adina from Scrope, the reader perhaps sympathises with him since it is Scrope's dishonest and exploitative actions that triggered his transformation or modernisation. However, the narrator finds it hard to see the marriage as being a happy one. He writes that Angelo 'was welcome to all his grotesque superstitions, but what sort of future did they promise for Adina?' (Adina, 255), a subtle reference perhaps to the events of 'The Last of the Valerii'. Angelo's last words are that she's 'better than the topaz!' (Adina, 256), emphasising his triumph over Sam Scrope. This suggests that he intends to treat her as more than just an object to be traded.

Whilst in 'The Last of the Valerii' the return of the Juno to the earth restores marital relations between the Count and Martha, the return of the Intaglio to the bottom of the Tiber does not restore

relations in 'Adina'. It is noteworthy that it is on the Bridge of St Angelo, in front of the Castel St Angelo, that Scrope 'tossed the glittering jewel into the dusky river' (Adina, 257). Pierre A. Walker writes that the castle is a 'reminder' of 'the impulse to world power' and 'repression', noting that it shares its name with Beati (Walker, 20). However, I would suggest that the reason for the setting is to do more than just give the tale a sense of closure and assert Angelo's dominance over Scrope. At their first meeting, Angelo states that the lightning strike that led him to the intaglio was 'sent there by my patron, the blessed Saint Angelo' (Adina, 218). By setting the final scene at the place in Rome most associated with Saint Angelo, James seems to suggest that the events of the tale may have been engineered by some sort of divine power outside of the realm of Scrope or the narrator's control, some power that is protecting Italians from the commodification of their ancient culture. In this sense, the final scene represents the reburying of the intaglio as a warning to other outsiders who might wish to try and exploit the classical past for financial gain.

As can be seen from the numerous references to both James' own travel writings from the *Atlantic Monthly* and other articles from Howells' magazine, James' concern in this tale is not with establishing a direct connection with *Scribner's Monthly's* readership. Instead, I would argue that here James is writing under the assumption that he had enough of a following who already read his work in a variety of different magazines, and would therefore be able to recognise a lot of the self-referential allusions he makes in this tale, although they aren't necessary to an understanding of the tale. It is unsurprising therefore, that the *Scribner's* reviewer of his *Passionate Pilgrim* collection the following year commented that James had limited himself:

while, of course, the author secures by his foreign excursions a charm of strangeness and a coloring occasionally more rich and varied than that of this climate, he as inevitably resigns his claims on the popular heart of this country. But it is evident that he is writing consciously for a small audience – for people fond of Europe, to whose sympathies in the particular sort of situations he chooses to treat, he can appeal with confidence.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ Anon, 'Culture and Progress: "A Passionate Pilgrim"', in *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. 9, Issue 6 (April 1875), 766-767.

By this time, James was so established as a writer that he finally felt ready to write his first full-length novel, *Roderick Hudson*, in which, as we shall see, he also made reference to his other works. In that novel, he refines material from his earlier tales, allowing the loyal reader to see the development of his literary technique, and also recognise elements of the plots of these earlier tales.

Chapter Six. Roderick Hudson

Roderick Hudson was my first attempt at a novel, a long fiction with a “complicated” subject, and I recall again the quite uplifted sense with which my idea, such as it was, permitted me at last to put quite out to sea. I had but hugged the shore on sundry previous small occasions; bumping about, to acquire skill, in the shallow waters and sandy coves of the “short story” and master as yet of no vessel constructed to carry a sail. The subject of *Roderick Hudson* figured to me vividly this employment of canvas, and I have not forgotten, even after long years, how the blue southern sea seemed to spread immediately before me and the breath of the spice-islands to be already in the breeze.²⁹²

In the spring of 1874, James finally embarked on his voyage of writing his first full-length novel, *Roderick Hudson*, which was serialised in the *Atlantic Monthly* between January and December 1875. As he writes in the above passage – from his 1907 preface to the New York Edition – the novel was only undertaken once he had practised his craft sufficiently in the short story genre. Although James draws attention to the novel’s debt to his earlier work in this later preface, it is surprising that the majority of critics, with the exception of Philip Horne, Cornelia Kelley, and Carl Maves, have not explored the relationship between the novel and his earlier tales in much detail.²⁹³ Exploring the novel in this context reveals aspects of it that would have resonated with his contemporary magazine readers, and how through touching on themes and motifs from his previous fiction, James develops the plot in a way that alludes to what they may have previously

²⁹² Henry James, ‘Preface to *Roderick Hudson*’, in *Literary Criticism: French Writers, Other European Writers, The Prefaces to the New York Edition* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 1039-1052, 1040, hereafter PRH.

²⁹³ See Philip Horne, *Henry James and Revision: The New York Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 100-47, hereafter Horne; Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley, *The Early Development of Henry James* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 182-194; and Carl Maves, *Sensuous Pessimism: Italy in the Work of Henry James* (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1973), 47-54, hereafter Maves. Charles R. Anderson also makes a number of useful references to instances where James reuses matter from his travel sketches. Charles R. Anderson, *Person, Place and Thing in Henry James’s Novels* (Durham, Northern Carolina: Duke University Press, 1977), 9-40, hereafter Anderson.

read by him, in much the same way he alluded to material by other magazine writers in his previous tales.

This chapter will explore how James, keen to capitalise on his growing reputation in anticipation of the publication of *A Passionate Pilgrim* in book form in 1875, makes use of allusions and references to material from his earlier tales in order to enhance the novel, and to play with his reader's expectations about characters and plot. In particular, it will focus on the novel in the context of the fiction explored in previous chapters, as well as 'Eugene Pickering' (1874), and James' travel sketches. In doing so in the context of James' establishment of himself as a writer about Rome for the *Atlantic Monthly* – where *Roderick Hudson* was serialised – I aim to illuminate how these details develop his previous experiments with the relationship between culture and character. This will shed light not only on James' writing practices, and how he develops motifs and themes from earlier tales in the novel, but also the ways in which readers familiar with his previous work in the *Atlantic* may have interpreted the use of similar subject matter in their own readings of the novel.

The novel follows the artistic rise and moral decline of the young American sculptor Roderick Hudson, as seen through the eyes of his patron, Rowland Mallet. Discovering the sculptor on a visit to his cousin in Northampton, MA, Rowland convinces Roderick to give up a career in law to pursue his artistic work full-time in Rome. Roderick agrees, leaving behind his widowed mother and his fiancée, Mary Garland. In Italy, Roderick finds himself successfully building a career as an artist, meeting other fellow expatriate artists, and gaining commissions for statues. Meanwhile he meets the enchanting Christina Light, a product of mixed American and European parentage, whose mother wants her to marry a wealthy aristocrat, boasting of the number of dukes and princes who have fallen in love with her. Roderick soon falls passionately in love with her, despite Rowland's frequent reminders of his betrothal to Mary Garland. They meet often, and although Christina seems to encourage Roderick's advances, she becomes engaged to the Neapolitan Prince Casamassima.

Soon after this, Mary Garland and Mrs. Hudson travel to see Roderick in Rome; their innocent New England sensibilities are often unsettled by what they perceive to be the decadence of Roman

culture. Roderick, despairing over losing Christina, treats the two rudely. Rowland is left to look after them, and realises he has fallen in love with Mary Garland himself. They move first to Florence to try and get Roderick away from the influence of Christina Light – now married to the Prince – and eventually to Switzerland, with the intention of taking Roderick, by now almost mad with heartbreak, back to America. In Switzerland, they encounter Christina once more, and Roderick asks his patron for money to go and visit her. An argument ensues, since Rowland is angry that Mary Garland should be insulted in such a way, and Roderick leaves in the middle of a storm. The next day Roderick's body is discovered at the bottom of a cliff, although it is unclear if it is an accident or suicide. The Americans return to New England, where Rowland regularly visits Mary Garland in the hope she will one day love him too - the ending seems to suggest his patience will pay off.

As can be seen from this brief summary, the novel's plot picks up on some of the themes that James' earlier tales had explored. The questions about America's artistic production discussed in 'The Madonna of the Future' arise again in the chapters devoted to Roderick and the other American expatriate artists Sam Singleton and Gloriani. The rivalry between women in 'The Last of the Valerii' is touched on again in the overlapping love triangle between Roderick, Christina Light, and Mary Garland. Finally James replays aspects of Mr. Brooke and Miss Evans' relationship in 'Travelling Companions' to develop the relationship between Mary and Rowland. These are all elements of the novel that I will focus on, particularly in term of how James uses a blend of references and allusions to both his own writing and other well-known cultural works to develop the way he presents his characters. Compared to earlier stories such as 'Travelling Companions' and 'At Isella', the number of references he makes in *Roderick Hudson* is less, but he uses them to greater effect in developing his characters, suggesting his use of the technique was maturing.

In a letter to Sarah Butler Wister dated July 29th 1874, halfway through writing *Roderick Hudson*, James wrote that '[t]he fault of the story, I am pretty sure, will be in its being too analytical & psychological, & not deemed sufficiently dramatic and eventful' (CL1872-76:2, 193). After reading the novel, William James commented to Henry in a letter dated December 12th 1875 that he was 'struck unfavorably by the tendency of the personages to reflect upon themselves and give an acute

critical scientific introspective classification of their own natures & states of mind, à la G. Sand.²⁹⁴

Though intended as a critical remark, both this and Henry James' own observation about the lack of action in the novel demonstrates its key aim, which was to examine the development of Roderick Hudson's character and career as an artist through the perspective of Rowland Mallet.

James emphasises in the first sentence of the Preface that the novel was 'designed from the first for serial publication in the "Atlantic Monthly"' (PRH, 1039). James describes how he came to write the novel, frankly discussing his original intentions and areas he now felt discomfort with. Oscar Cargill writes that '[i]t must be remembered that the Preface to *Roderick Hudson* was the first of James's prefaces and that his most important task was to establish a sense of modesty in the face of the seeming immodesty of republishing and analyzing the bulk of his fiction.'²⁹⁵ However, it is also useful to consider that a lot of what James says in his 1907 preface actually emphasises the relationship between the narrative of the novel and aspects of his earlier travel sketches and works of fiction, although not explicitly mentioned. I want to focus largely on how he reflects upon his portrayal of the main characters in the novel, and through doing this to illuminate how he attempts to explain elements of the novel that, although clear to a magazine audience in 1875, may have been less so three decades later. In this sense, the preface can be read as a way of anticipating his New York Edition reader's possible dissatisfaction with the way he portrays aspects of the plot – especially the speed of Roderick's downfall, Rowland's role as observer and narrator, and the contrast between Mary Garland and Christina Light. As I shall explore throughout this chapter, these were all elements that make use of the 1875 edition reader's familiarity with his previous fiction, allowing readers familiar with this to anticipate aspects of the plot. However, it is important to note that I am not trying to claim that this context is vital to the novel's readability or artistic success, it is merely an aspect of the novel that has been relatively unexplored by critics that highlights further examples of how James engaged with his readership and enhances elements of the novel.

²⁹⁴ William James, *The Correspondence of William James: Vol. 1, William and Henry 1861-1884*, ed. by Ignas K. Skrupskelis & Elizabeth M. Berkeley (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 247, hereafter *CWJ*.

²⁹⁵ Oscar Cargill, *The Novels of Henry James* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), 24.

A key aspect of James' criticism of his work is his discussion of the timeframe of the novel. He bemoans the fact that:

Everything occurs, none the less, too punctually and moves too fast: Roderick's disintegration, a gradual process, and of which the exhibitional interest is exactly that it *is* gradual and occasional, and thereby traceable and watchable, swallows two years in a mouthful, proceeds quite *not* by years, but by weeks and months, and thus renders the whole view the disservice of appearing to present him as a morbidly special case. The very claim of the fable is naturally that he *is* special, that his great gift makes and keeps him highly exceptional; but that it is not for a moment supposed to preclude his appearing typical (of the general type) as well (PRH, 1047).

That James in 1907 feels Roderick's downfall comes too quickly to be realistic is interesting, as in his portrayal of Roderick early in the novel, James is careful to align him with ideas that would invite the contemporary magazine reader, if familiar with 'The Madonna of the Future', to draw comparisons between Roderick and Theobald. As I will explore later, by dropping hints throughout the narrative at parallels between the two characters, James invites the magazine audience to expect Roderick to follow exactly in Theobald's footsteps of procrastination. Given that Roderick goes against these expectations, and does actively produce art despite being in similar circumstances to Theobald, who produced nothing save a small sketch, the process of his disintegration *does* indeed seem gradual. Out of the context of 'The Madonna of the Future', Roderick's breakdown might seem unduly fast, and in tackling this problem in the Preface, James manages his New York Edition reader's expectations.

James goes on to state that the 'centre of interest throughout "Roderick" is in Rowland Mallet's consciousness, and the drama is the very drama of that consciousness' (PRH, 1050). He goes on to write that he intended to represent 'his total adventure; but as what happened to him was above all to feel certain things happening to others, to Roderick, to Christina, to Mary Garland, to Mrs. Hudson, to the Cavaliere, to the Prince, so the beauty of the constructional game was to preserve in everything its especial value for *him*' (PRH, 1050). Notably, except for the Prince Casamassima, the names of all these characters form the titles of a number of the magazine instalments – later chapters of the book when it was first published – indicating that James intends the chapters at

least in part as character studies. For the sake of brevity, I will be focusing solely on Rowland, Roderick, Christina, and Mary. James continues a narrative technique of relaying the narrative from the perspective of a single character that he used throughout his career; all of the tales studied in this thesis have used this technique. However, instead of using Roderick as the first-person narrator, as in the other tales, James uses a third-person narrator. But again, for the readers of the New York Edition, possibly unfamiliar with his history of using the technique, this particular strategy would not be apparent.

In the case of Christina Light and Mary Garland, James writes that although he had meant each to be the other's 'antithesis', he now felt the difference to be incomplete:

One is ridden by the law that antitheses, to be efficient, shall be both direct and complete. Directness seemed to fail unless Mary should be, so to speak, "plain." Christina being essentially so "coloured"; and completeness seemed to fail unless she too should have her potency (PRH, 1052).

Again, however, I would argue that the problem of how Mary and Christina are portrayed is partly contextual. As I shall discuss later, although James isn't wrong in his account of the difficulties in creating the contrast, for the readers of the novel familiar with 'The Last of the Valerii', and some of James' other tales, the differences between the two characters is made clear early on and throughout the novel. James is again managing his New York Edition reader's expectations by clearly signalling in the preface what his intentions were.

This chapter will explore how in making allusions to his own works, James draws out key elements of the characterisation of the main characters, and plays with his 1875 magazine reader's expectations of the plot of *Roderick Hudson*. Since this is a full-length novel, rather than a short story, like the other works this thesis has considered, this chapter will only have the space to examine a few aspects of the novel, and will largely focus on instances where James uses Italian culture in relation to the four main characters. First, I will explore, as hitherto, the circumstances surrounding the publication of the novel, before exploring how James makes use of elements of 'The Madonna of the Future' in the early chapters of the novel to emphasise aspects of Roderick's career as an artist and Rowland's patronage. Then I will go on to explore how James picks up on motifs

from 'The Last of the Valerii', 'Eugene Pickering', and 'Travelling Companions', to draw out elements of the relationship between Roderick and Christina Light and Mary Garland, especially in light of how he contrasts the two women.

Publishing Context

James' preface to *Roderick Hudson* also discusses the circumstances surrounding the novel's composition, and, as previously mentioned, its first sentence asserts that the novel had been 'designed from the first for serial publication in "The Atlantic Monthly"' (PRH, 1039). The use of the word 'designed' demonstrates the importance that the magazine had for James at this point in his career by emphasising that James wrote *Roderick Hudson* with the *Atlantic* specifically in mind. As the rest of this thesis has demonstrated, James had carefully designed his fiction to include aspects that would resonate with his readers through allusions to other articles from the magazine. As noted in the previous chapter, in 1873-4, James' contributions to the *Atlantic* were almost exclusively of material that focused on Roman culture, whether in fiction or travel writing.²⁹⁶ His previously mentioned boast of 1874 that he could 'quadruple the circulation of the *Atlantic*' with his writing about Rome, demonstrates a conscious desire to engage with the *Atlantic*'s readership in this way (CL1855-72:1, 107-8). I would argue that this is why James describes the novel as being 'designed' for the *Atlantic*, since so many of James' previous contributions help to colour *Roderick Hudson*, and James picks up on themes and motifs from these throughout the novel. Earlier the previous year, James had written to Howells that he had planned to write a novel; Howells responded on March 10th 1873 that he was 'glad that we're to hear from you every month and I rejoice that you think of doing a serial for next year.'²⁹⁷ This seems to suggest that James planned to send the novel to Howells, and lends weight to the argument that the works he was sending on a monthly basis at this point were with a view to building his reputation in the *Atlantic*.

²⁹⁶Excluding reviews, James contributed 'Bethnal Green Museum' (Jan. 1873), 'The Madonna of the Future' (March 1873), 'A Roman Holiday' (July 1873), 'Roman Rides' (Aug. 1873), 'Roman Neighborhoods' (Dec. 1873), 'The Last of the Valerii' (Jan. 1874), 'A Chain of Italian Cities' (Feb. 1874), 'Siena' (June 1874), and 'Eugene Pickering' (Oct. & Nov. 1874). All except the first and last focus on Italian culture.

²⁹⁷ Michael Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 79.

A Passionate Pilgrim & Other Tales was published in January 1875, the same month that *Roderick Hudson* began to appear in the *Atlantic Monthly*. James seems to have compiled the tales between March and December 1873. As discussed in the previous chapter (p. 161), in Rome on March 24th 1873, James wrote to his parents, thanking his father ‘for his trouble in discussing with Osgood the matter of my bringing out a volume’ (CL1872-76:2: 243). He writes briefly of his selections for the collection, having already decided to lead the volume with ‘A Passionate Pilgrim’, saying ‘[t]hey will all have been the work of the last three years and be much better and maturer than their predecessors. Of these there is only one – ‘A Light Man’ (published in the *Galaxy*) I should not rather object to reissue. That showed the most distinct ability’ (CL1872-6:2, 243). ‘A Light Man’ (1869) did not make the cut, however, and ‘A Romance of Certain Old Clothes’ (1868) did. The rest of the tales, with the exception of ‘A Passionate Pilgrim’ were all published after 1873, and consisted of: ‘The Madonna of the Future’ (March 1873), ‘The Last of the Valerii’ (Jan. 1874), ‘Madame de Mauves’ (Feb.-March 1874), and ‘Eugene Pickering’ (Oct.-Nov. 1874). James echoes or alludes to the majority of these within *Roderick Hudson*. *Transatlantic Sketches* was published a few months later in March 1875, and although it contains a large amount of material relating to Italy – fourteen out of twenty-six sketches deal with Italy – there seem to be no letters by James that help draw a picture of his selection process for these. However, in publishing the book, James was able to unite the sketches from various magazines into one comprehensive volume. The publication of these two volumes helped to provide his audience with a fuller sense of his factual and fictional portrayal of Italy, thereby allowing him to build on these themes in *Roderick Hudson*. His references to his own works in the novel could therefore be recognised not only by readers of the original texts in magazine form, but also by new readers of these volumes that definitively laid out his approach to portraying Italy.

However, although James may well have intended to publish his first full-length novel in the *Atlantic*, it was in fact Dr. Josiah Holland, the editor of *Scribner’s Monthly*, who first offered him the chance to write a serial novel.²⁹⁸ James wrote to his parents regarding the dilemma he faced:

²⁹⁸ Of course, the shorter *Watch and Ward* (1871) was technically his first novel.

I am well disposed to accept his offer, but there is an obstacle. I feel myself under a tacit pledge to offer first to the *Atlantic* any serial novel I should now write & should consider myself unfriendly to Howells if I made a bargain with Scribner without speaking first to him. I am pretty sure the Atlantic would like equally well with Scribner to have my story & I should prefer its appearing there. It must depend upon the money question, however, entirely (*CL1872-76:2*, 134).

James went on to focus on the financial side of the deal when he wrote to Howells, in what he pointedly says 'is not a love-letter', asking if the *Atlantic* would take his novel. He writes '[i]f the Atlantic desires the story for the year and will give me as much[,] I of course embrace in preference the Atlantic. Sentimentally I should prefer the *A.*; but as things stand with me, I have no right to let it be anything but a pure money question' (*CL1872-76:2*, 137). In light of James' earlier claim that he could 'quadruple' the magazine's readership with his writing about Italy, the fact that Howells accepted the serialisation of the novel indicates he was keen to capitalise on James' reputation for writing about Italy in the *Atlantic*. Additionally, as Andrew Cutting writes, 'the specific literary reputation of *Atlantic Monthly* – as opposed to that of *Scribner's* or *Harper's* – was likewise valuable for James' own campaign to be recognised as an emerging author of national importance.'²⁹⁹

When Howells accepted the novel, Mary Walsh James wrote to her son, saying:

by the time this reaches you, you will be mentally launched upon the largest enterprise you have ever undertaken. The things you have sent out of late, are evidently making a mark, and preparing the way for a favourable reception of what may come after – the daily Advertiser says this morning speaking of your article in the N.A.R., "Mr. James is always fascinating, whether he writes a story, a sketch of travel, or a criticism".³⁰⁰

The reception of James' works at this stage continued to be positive, encouraging him to continue writing in the manner that he already had been, whilst developing his technique. A brief exploration of the reception of James' *A Passionate Pilgrim & Other Tales* will reinforce this impression of how James' reputation had grown over the years.

²⁹⁹ Andrew Cutting, *Death in Henry James* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 40-41.

³⁰⁰ Mary Walsh James, Letter to Henry James (3rd April [1874]), James Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., ed. by Pierre A. Walker et al. 2005, <http://www.dearhenryjames.org>.

Various reviews appeared in contemporary magazines, and there is a conspicuous relationship between the frequency of James' contributions to the magazines in question, and their opinion of his work.³⁰¹ I want to focus here on the reviews in the *Atlantic* and *Scribner's*. It should hardly need saying that Howells gave it a dazzling review that was featured on the opening page of the 'Recent Literature' section of the *Atlantic*. The review opens by examining James' literary reputation:

Mr. Henry James, Jr. has so long been a writer of magazine stories, that most readers will realize with surprise the fact that he now presents them for the first time in book form. He has already made his public. Since his earliest appearance in *The Atlantic* people have strongly liked and disliked his writing; but those who know his stories, whether they like them or not, have constantly increased in number, and it has therefore been a winning game with him. He has not had to struggle with indifference, that subtlest enemy of literary reputations.³⁰²

By focusing on James' recent rise to fame, Howells also surreptitiously acknowledges his role in the process; with the exception of 'Madame de Mauves', all of the tales in the collection had first appeared in the *Atlantic*, and all – apart from 'The Romance of Certain Old Clothes' – under Howells' editorship.

With regard to 'The Madonna of the Future', Howells focuses on the relationship between Theobald and Serafina, writing that '[o]ur pity that his life should have slipped away from him in devout study of this vulgar beauty, and that she should grow old and he should die before he has made a line to celebrate her perfection or seize his ideal, is vastly heightened by the author's rigid justice to her; she is not caricatured by a light or a shadow, and her dim sense of Theobald's goodness and purity is even flattered into prominence' (HPP, 493). Howells' attention to James' depiction of the tragedy of Theobald's preoccupation helps to draw out this aspect of the tale for readers of *Roderick Hudson*

³⁰¹ Despite James' contributions to the magazine, *The Galaxy* did not review either of the two volumes. This seems to be because the vast majority of their reviews focused on works of non-fiction. Grace Norton reviewed the two volumes together in *The Nation*, praising his writings for 'show[ing] everywhere the mark of intelligent purpose and the graceful ease that comes only of conscientious training'. Grace Norton [unsigned], 'James's Tales and Sketches', in *The Nation*, Vol. 20, Issue 521 (June 24th 1875), 425-7, 425.

³⁰² William Dean Howells, 'Recent Literature: *The Passionate Pilgrim and other Tales*', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 35, Issue 210 (April 1875), 490-495, 490, hereafter HPP.

– a novel which also relies heavily on this motif of an artist falling in love with his ideal model; moreover, this review appeared at the same time as the instalment of the novel where James introduces Christina as Roderick's ideal model.

Howells doesn't comment in much depth on 'The Last of the Valerii', but picks up on its relation to *The Marble Faun*, writing that '[s]ince Hawthorne's Donatello, any attempt to touch on what seems to be the remaining paganism in Italian character must accuse itself a little, but *The Last of the Valerii* is a study of this sort that need really have nothing on its conscience. [...] it is an airy fabric woven from those bewitching glimpses of the impossible which life in Italy affords, and which those who have enjoyed them are perfectly right to overvalue' (HPP, 494). Again, drawing attention to the qualities of life peculiar to Italy helps to emphasise the way in which James is also doing this in the novel appearing alongside the review.

Howells finishes his review by praising the quality of James' work, saying it is 'a marvelous first book in which the author can invite his critic to the same sort of reflection that criticism bestows upon the claims of the great reputations [...] Like it or not, you must own that here is something positive, original, individual, the result of long and studious effort in a well-considered line, and mounting in its own way to great achievement' (HPP, 494-5). Yet he does identify an area of potential weakness, when, in a final discussion of the overall effect of the book, he writes that the reader 'may [have] a whimsical doubt whether Mr. James has not too habitually addressed himself less to men and women in their mere humanity, than to a *certain kind of cultivated people*, who, well as they are in some ways, and indispensable as their appreciation is, are often a little narrow in their sympathies and poverty-stricken in the simple emotions; who are so, or try to be so, which is quite as bad, or worse' (HPP, 495, emphasis my own). This seems to be a hint to James not to focus too directly on these cultivated readers, and try to appeal to a wider readership, within the pages of the *Atlantic*, of course.

The reviewer in *Scribner's Monthly* also picked up on the question of James' readership, as evidenced in the quote used in the title of this thesis:

while, of course, the author secures by his foreign excursions a charm of strangeness and a coloring occasionally more rich and varied than that of this climate, he as inevitably resigns his claims on the popular heart of this country. But it is evident that he is writing consciously for a small audience – for people fond of Europe, to whose sympathies in the particular sort of situations he chooses to treat, he can appeal with confidence.³⁰³

The main difference here is that whilst Howells also acknowledges that James' approach may limit his appeal, he saves this criticism till last, and voices this doubt through the thoughts of a potential reader, not himself. Contrastingly, the reviewer in *Scribner's* – the rival for the serial rights to *Roderick Hudson* – immediately picks up on the way in which James has limited himself in terms of his audience, and returns to this fact repeatedly throughout the review.³⁰⁴

James replied to Howells in May 1874 that he was 'extremely glad that my thing is destined to see the light in the Atlantic rather than in 'tother place', reluctant to call *Scribner's* by name in deference to Howell's rivalry with the magazine. James goes on to outline his concept of the novel: 'My story is to be on a theme I have had in my head a long time & once attempted to write something about. [...] The opening chapters take place in America & the people are of our glorious race; but they are soon transplanted to Rome where things are to go on famously' (*CL1872-76:2*, 156). The allusion to having previously attempted to write about the theme of the novel may refer to 'The Madonna of the Future', which also dramatised the role of the artist transplanted abroad.

³⁰³ Anon, 'Culture and Progress: "A Passionate Pilgrim"', in *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. 9, Issue 6 (April 1875), 766-767, 766-67.

³⁰⁴ This contrast may also be observed in the two magazines' reviews of *Transatlantic Sketches*. The reviewer from *Scribner's* devotes a single column to the review, noting rather critically that '[o]n the whole, we know of no other writer who conveys so completely as Mr. James just the luxurious, leisurely, and easily refined mood of contemplation that travelers of the best culture abroad indulge. It is to be noted – and, perhaps, with some surprise, considering the author in his character of novelist – that the human interest is almost wholly left out of the scene in these letters'. Anon, 'Review of *Transatlantic Sketches*', in *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. 10, Issue 3 (July 1875), 389-390, 390. Contrastingly, the anonymous reviewer in the *Atlantic* draws attention to James' love of Italy: 'Italy is the country for which Mr. James cherishes and confesses an incurable weakness [...] Exquisitely as Mr. James writes about England, charming and playful and true as are his chapters on other countries, it is only Italy that calls forth his full poetic power'. Anon, 'Recent Literature: James's *Transatlantic Sketches*', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 36, Issue 213 (July 1875), 113-115, 114-5. Again, in drawing attention to James' Italian works, the author of the *Atlantic's* review brings James' material from the travel writing into implicit comparison with the main setting of *Roderick Hudson*. Since James alludes to material from his travel sketches frequently in the novel, this helps to emphasise this fact.

With a couple of exceptions, *Roderick Hudson* contains a noticeably smaller number of allusions than the tales hitherto examined to subject matter found in the magazine – apart, that is, from work James had written himself. This emphasises how self-reliant James was becoming as a writer, as his reputation grew. The novel makes reference to a number of aspects of Roman culture that James touches on in his travel sketches previously explored, as well as referring to his earlier tales. One of these, which has not been dealt with in this thesis since it is set in Germany, is his late 1874 tale, ‘Eugene Pickering’, which appeared in the *Atlantic* in two parts in the October and November issues.

The story deals with the American Eugene Pickering, who is in Germany exploring his new found freedom, having recently lost his controlling father. Here, he falls in love with the beautiful German poet Madame Blumenthal, despite having been promised by his father to an American girl named Miss Vernor. He spends a month enamoured with Madame Blumenthal, and proposes to her. She accepts, only to reject him the next day, revealing that she had only accepted him to see ‘how far’ he would go in creating an interesting narrative for her.³⁰⁵ Her claim that ‘the story’s finished; we’ve reached the dénouement. We’ll close the book and be good friends’, highlights her literary preoccupations, and she seems to have been modeled on Corinne or Madame de Staël herself (EP, 344). In the end, Pickering meets Miss Vernor, and the narrator insinuates that they marry. James recapitulates this tale in *Roderick Hudson*, when Roderick seems to have a similar episode in Germany, as I shall examine further later. The tale emphasises the social side of visiting Europe much more than its predecessors, a theme that James was to find very fertile as he grew as a writer.

This interest in the social side of European life is also touched on in his sketch ‘Siena’, published in the *Atlantic* in June 1874. In this article, James focuses on the difficulties of getting to know Sieneese society, echoing the frustrations of the narrator in ‘At Isella’. Yet he makes a few observations about the immoral nature of the nobility of the town, noting that ‘when a Sieneese countess, as things are here, is doing her hair near the window, she is a wonderfully near neighbor to the *cavaliere* opposite, who is being shaved by his valet. Possibly the countess does not object to a certain chosen

³⁰⁵ Henry James, ‘Eugene Pickering’, in *The Complete Tales of Henry James: 1873-1875*, ed. by Leon Edel (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), 299-350, 344, hereafter EP.

publicity at her toilet: an Italian gentleman tells me the aristocracy are very “corrupt”.³⁰⁶ The figure of the *cavaliere*, associated here with sexual dalliances, reappears in *Roderick Hudson* as the companion to Christina Light and her mother, and it is finally hinted that he is in fact Christina’s illegitimate father. Unable to gain from the aristocracy ‘a little sketch of their social philosophy, or a few first-hand family anecdotes’ (Siena, 667), James reverts to writing about the art world of Siena, notably referring to Ghirlandaio, the artist whose art Rowland imagines purchasing in the novel’s opening chapters. However, the novel mainly focuses on the role Italy plays in helping American artists to create art – a subject James had not dealt with since ‘The Madonna of the Future’.

In relation to the discussions surrounding American art in these early chapters, one notes the *Atlantic* continuing in these issues its coverage of the American art scene. A couple of articles here touch on themes that James handles in the novel’s treatment of American artists. A discussion of John Singleton Copley’s historical paintings concludes that ‘perseverance and determined industry, applied to a genius not naturally inclined to this kind of painting, led Copley to this eminence.’³⁰⁷ Whilst the article doesn’t explicitly refer to Copley’s middle name, this connection seems to be a highly likely source for James’ portrait of the industrious artist Sam *Singleton*, who eventually surpasses – and certainly survives – Roderick Hudson. James referred to Copley in an anonymous review of the Duke of Montpensier picture collection’s arrival in Boston, showing familiarity with Copley’s work.³⁰⁸ The January 1874 issue’s ‘Art’ section concludes with a brief discussion of the sculpture of Preston Powers, the son of Hiram Powers, mentioning his father’s *Eve*, and concluding ‘while we wait for some one who shall apply himself to representation in sculpture with something of the spirit of the discoverer, we welcome Mr. Powers as a patient and faithful laborer.’³⁰⁹ James perhaps had this in mind when writing Roderick’s speeches illuminating his desire to idealise subjects in his sculpture.

³⁰⁶ Henry James, ‘Siena’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 33, Issue 200 (June 1874), 664-669, 667, hereafter Siena.

³⁰⁷ Anon, ‘Art’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 32, Issue 192 (Oct. 1873), 504-5, 505.

³⁰⁸ Henry James, ‘Pictures in Boston’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 34, Issue 205 (Nov. 1874), 633-637, 636. In this extract, James also describes a number of works by Murillo, whose *Madonna* in the Louvre he was to use in the opening scene of *The American* (1877). Henry James, *The American*, in *Novels 1871-1880* (New York: Library of America, 1983), 515-872, 515. (See p. 256).

³⁰⁹ Anon, ‘Art’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 33, Issue 195 (Jan. 1874), 119-123, 123.

In May 1874, the 'Art' section discussed the sculpture in the newly opened Corcoran Gallery in Washington, which housed a number of copies of works of art donated by the curator. However, the critic complained that 'we think the purchase of these casts might have been adjourned, or, if casts there must be, we wish some others than those with which we have so many opportunities to become familiar could have taken their place. Early Italian sculpture and the sculpture of the Renaissance in Italy and France are nowhere represented in this country.'³¹⁰ James may well have been alluding to this complaint when Rowland discusses his desire to bring European art to America in the novel's first chapter – the date of the article coincides with the time James started composing the novel in May 1874. Later in October 1874, whilst James was still writing the novel, the writer of the 'Art' section, in response to a complaint about negative criticism of art, stated that 'the artists could do much more work, and far better work, if they would improve their time, would work more in seclusion and give up their social and "society" aims altogether.'³¹¹ This again points towards Sam Singleton; whilst Roderick and Rowland become embroiled in their social drama, Singleton – the name also has connotations of bachelorhood – emerges successful as an artist at the end of the novel having worked in solitude.

However, although James relies less on engaging with magazine material, and focuses on his own presentation of Italy, there is another marked difference between the circumstances surrounding its publication and that of his previous tales. That difference here comes from the role Howells, as editor of the *Atlantic*, played in its serialisation. He helped to draw out certain elements of the novel through his editorial decisions throughout its serialisation. Howells placed a number of articles and works of poetry directly before or after James' novel that helped to emphasise themes within each section being published, thereby enhancing the reader's experience of the novel.

Looking at *Roderick Hudson* in its magazine form gives the reader a sense of the prominence Howells gave it. One notable aspect of the serialisation is the position in the *Atlantic* Howells

³¹⁰ Anon, 'Art', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 33, Issue 199 (May 1874), 629-632, 631. There were, of course, plenty of examples of sculpture from other periods in the Boston Athenaeum.

³¹¹ Anon, 'Art', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 34, Issue 204 (Oct. 1874), 506-509, 509.

assigned the novel in relation to surrounding articles. It was published in twelve monthly instalments according to the terms Howells and James arranged.³¹² The first instalment was given the prominent front page of the *Atlantic*, as were the eighth, tenth, and twelfth. With the exception of the first, these were all instalments that involved rather dramatic occurrences; the August instalment deals with a fall-out between Rowland and Roderick, “The Cavaliere”, October’s instalment reveals the insinuation that the Cavaliere is Christina Light’s illegitimate father, whilst the concluding section was placed at the front of the magazine, perhaps to coincide with the book publication as a way of advertising. Giving these sections the front page helped to sustain the tension of the tale, announcing them as important parts of the serial.

Additionally, by placing relevant or complementary material that echoed aspects of the novel alongside it, Howells was able to help accentuate parts of the novel that he felt to be the most interesting. I would like to draw attention to some of the poems that were published alongside *Roderick Hudson* in the early stages of the novel, particularly those written by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Howells and Longfellow shared James’ love for Italy; Longfellow wrote to Howells in March 1874 inviting him to dinner: ‘You shall have macaroni *a la Napolitana*, and Calabrian wine, and shut your eyes and think yourself in Italy.’³¹³ Longfellow submitted a number of poems to the *Atlantic Monthly* on the subject of Italian culture and scenery, which Howells eagerly accepted. Two of these, ‘The Old Bridge at Florence’ and ‘Monte Cassino’, were published in the January and February 1875 issues of the magazine alongside the first instalments of *Roderick Hudson*. The first poem is narrated by the Ponte Vecchio itself, and talks of the various points of Florentine history it remembers: ‘when the Medici / Were driven from Florence; longer still ago / The final wars of Ghibelline and Guelf’, ending by boasting ‘And when I think that Michael Angelo / Hath leaned on me, I glory in myself’.³¹⁴ Howells placed this poem on the same page as the end of the first instalment of *Roderick Hudson*, where Rowland has invited Roderick to come to Rome with him

³¹² James states these as ‘\$1200 [...] for the year’, i.e. twelve monthly instalments (*CL*1872-76:2, 137).

³¹³ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Volume 5: 1866-1874*, ed. by Andrew Hilen (Cambridge, MA & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), 731.

³¹⁴ Henry W. Longfellow, ‘The Old Bridge at Florence’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 35, Issue 207 (Jan. 1875), 15.

under his patronage. The poem's focus on the long tradition of Italian history witnessed by the bridge – including Michaelangelo's career, renowned for his sculpture – helps to create a sense of the inspiration Italy can provide. Also, in being written from the point of view of an iconic, aesthetically pleasing piece of architecture that has stood throughout the centuries, it perhaps encourages the reader to anticipate the long-lasting works of art that Roderick himself might create.

Similarly, in 'Monte Cassino', Longfellow writes again of the history of the scene, and also of Saint Benedict, who 'founded here his Convent and his Rule / Of prayer and work, and counted work as prayer',³¹⁵ emphasising the importance of hard work that has been discussed in the previous instalment of *Roderick Hudson*. Again, Howells placed this directly after James' instalment of the novel. The poem's narrator also reflects upon '[t]he conflict of the Present and the Past, / The ideal and the actual in our life' (MC, 162), which again ties in with questions of the role of art in the novel, as well as echoing the themes of 'The Madonna of the Future'. Longfellow's poetry is thus used by Howells to accompany James' work in a way that helps the reader to appreciate the role Italy's history and cultural output will have in the novel, and to echo Roderick's excitement.

James T. Fields wrote to Longfellow about Howell's placing of the poems, saying of Longfellow's 'Three Friends of Mine':

I would not let Howells have the poem at present. And for this reason: he has already printed three pieces in the A.M. lately, and with little judgment, put *two* pieces into one number. [...] The last poem you printed in the A.M. has not done its full mission yet. It is constantly reprinted in the papers, and if another comes out so close upon it, the effect is disturbed.³¹⁶

The conflict of interest between Longfellow's desire to let each poem have enough space to make an impact, and Howells' evident wish to colour the pages surrounding James' novel with Italian themed poetry is made clear here – Longfellow agreed with Fields, saying to him 'I think you are right. It

³¹⁵ Henry W. Longfellow, 'Monte Cassino', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 35, Issue 208 (Feb. 1875), 161-2, 162, hereafter MC.

³¹⁶ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Volume 6: 1875-1882*, ed. by Andrew Hilen (Cambridge, MA & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), 27-8, hereafter LL:6. The 'two pieces' referred to were 'The Old Bridge at Florence' and 'Charles Sumner' - both published in the January 1875 issue.

will be better to wait awhile' (*LL*:6, 27). When Longfellow did submit another poem to Howells, 'Amalfi', of the May 1875 issue, Howells placed it on the front page, followed by the instalment of *Roderick Hudson* entitled "Christina". The end of this part of the novel introduces the 'pezzo grosso! A Neapolitan. Prince Casamassima' (*RH*, 306). Longfellow's poem, in describing the neighbouring town of Amalfi – 'a long-lost Paradise / In the land beyond the sea' – helps to colour the reader's sense of the Prince's place of origin.³¹⁷

The April 1875 issue of the magazine also helps to foreshadow Christina Light's dangerous character. The instalment, entitled "Experience", where Christina Light is first properly introduced to the reader, is preceded by the poem 'Diana', by James Maurice Thompson. The poem gives a rather straightforward description of Diana's 'fair' appearance, and the fact that '[n]o man – or king, or lord, or churl – / Dared whisper love' to her, for fear of ending up 'like Actaeon! / So dire his fate'.³¹⁸ This helps to foreshadow James' portrayal of Mrs. Light's conception of her daughter as a 'beauty of beauties', to whom she promises 'a prince, but also 'keeps on hand a few common mortals. At the worst, she would take a duke, an English lord, or even a young American with a proper number of millions' (*RH*, 273).³¹⁹ Similarly, in the June issue, Howells placed T. B. Aldrich's poem 'Spring in New England' on the front pages, immediately followed by the instalment of *Roderick Hudson* – "Frascati" – in which Roderick's passion for Christina Light comes to a head. While the content of the poem, a meditation on the end of the winter of the Civil War, does not bear much relevance to the episode at hand, in a part of the novel where Roderick's love for Christina takes centre stage, the title of the poem serves as a reminder of Mary Garland's presence on the other side of the Atlantic.³²⁰

³¹⁷ Henry W. Longfellow, 'Amalfi', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 35, Issue 211 (May 1875), 513-515, 515.

³¹⁸ James Maurice Thompson, 'Diana', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 35, Issue 210 (April 1875), 421. Actaeon was the young hunter who encountered Diana bathing in a spring and was punished by being turned into a deer.

³¹⁹ In a later chapter, Mr. Leavenworth mistakes the bust of Christina as 'a fanciful representation of one of the pagan goddesses – a Diana, a Flora, a naiad or dryad?' (*RH*, 362). The reference to the naiad or dryad is also suggestive of James' account of the bust of a bacchante in his family's parlour in *A Small Boy and Others* (see p. 35).

³²⁰ See also Andrew Cutting's discussion of the presentation of the Civil War in the novel in the context of the *Atlantic Monthly* (Cutting, 41-44).

Towards the end of the novel's run, a couple of articles on art and literature were similarly conspicuously placed next to James' novel in a way that helps to emphasise elements of the story. In the September 1875 issue, Howells led with an article by S. G. W. Benjamin, entitled 'Practice and Patronage of French Art'. This article draws heavily on the influence of Hippolyte Taine, stating in its opening lines that: '[a]rt has no mission; it is only one form by which the ideas of a race or a nation find expression at certain stages of intellectual progress.'³²¹ As will be discussed in the next section, James once more draws on elements of Taine's theories in the novel, and the insertion of such an article in the *Atlantic* helps to emphasise this, especially at the point where Mary Garland and Mrs. Hudson arrive in Italy to remind the reader of the American environment Roderick has been uprooted from. James himself had also explicitly discussed Taine in the 'Art' section of the January 1875 issue of the *Atlantic*, discussing his reaction to a painting by the Spanish artist Egusquiza: '[w]e felt tempted to do a little philosophizing à la Taine. What has the artist been through, to come to that; and having come to that, what will he go to next?'³²² Despite this being an unsigned review, as much of his art criticism was, in associating Taine – who theorised on the influence of environment on an artist's work – with the artistic development of Egusquiza, James draws parallels with the first chapter of the novel that appeared in the same issue, which questions how Roderick will develop as an artist.

Finally, in the December 1875 issue, Howells published the second part of a trilogy of articles on the subject of 'The Romantic School in Germany'. This particular article explored 'Novalis and the Blue Flower', the blue flower described in *Henry Von Osterdingen* by the German Romantic poet Novalis, which James alludes to in the novel a number of times.³²³ Whilst I will discuss James' use of the flower later in the chapter, the article defines the flower in a way that helps to give his allusion to it greater colour: 'The object of the Romantic longing, therefore, so far as it has any object, is the ideal – the ideal of happiness, the ideal of a woman, the ideal of a social perfection, etc. The blue flower,

³²¹ S. G. W. Benjamin, 'Practice and Patronage of French Art', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 36, Issue 215 (Sept. 1875), 257-269, 257.

³²² Henry James, 'Art', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 35, Issue 207 (Jan. 1875), 117-121, 119. James was back in the States by this point (*CL1872-76:2*, xxix).

³²³ Angus Wrenn also discusses the influence of Victor Cherbuliez in the use of the flower in the Coliseum scene. Angus Wrenn, *Henry James and the Second Empire* (London: Legenda, 2009), 90-95.

like the absolute ideal, is never found in this world; poets may at times dimly feel its nearness, and perhaps catch a glimpse of it in some lonely forest glade far from the haunts of men, but it is vain to try and pluck it.’³²⁴ By including this definition of the blue flower – which would resonate with readers of the novel who remembered James’ use of it – in the issue with the final instalment of *Roderick Hudson*, Howells helps both his and James’ readers to understand the novel’s conception of the “ideal”, and the dangers in trying to reach for this, both artistically and romantically.

I am not claiming that Howells deliberately commissioned these articles; they emerge as part of the cultural climate in which James was writing. However, Howells does make a point of including such material at moments that contribute to the reader’s experience and understanding of the novel. This represents a shift of balance in the way James interacted with his audience, which is my main focus in this chapter; he relies less on magazine articles written by others for sources, instead becoming more self-reliant and reworking his own material, while work by others was placed in the *Atlantic* by Howells to supplement his fiction and its engagement with Italian culture.

Rowland, Roderick, and ‘The Madonna of the Future’

The titles of the opening chapters of the novel, as they appeared in the *Atlantic* and the first book edition, clearly set out the three R’s that James wishes to deal with in the novel: “Roderick”, “Rowland”, and “Rome”, that is: the artist, the observer, and the setting. James uses the rest of the novel to explore the impact of being in Rome on Roderick through the eyes of Rowland. As Robert Emmet Long suggests, ‘Rowland has been placed in an antithetical position to Roderick as a character who is rational as Roderick is passionate, and it is through him that Roderick’s moral failure is kept before the reader.’³²⁵ In these terms, this aspect of the novel shares a number of features with ‘The Madonna of the Future’, where an observer character, H., similarly watches the effect of Italian culture on the productivity of an American artist, Theobald. There are also a number of rather obvious differences: Rowland Mallet also plays the role of Roderick’s patron, so he

³²⁴ Hjalmar Hjorth Boyeson, ‘Novalis and the Blue Flower’, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 36, Issue 218 (Dec. 1875), 689-698, 695.

³²⁵ Robert Emmet Long, *Henry James: The Early Novels* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 37.

isn't as dispassionate an observer as in the case of the story's narrator, and unlike Theobald, Roderick actually creates art as opposed to simply talking about it.

When Rowland Mallet is introduced to the reader, James associates him with Europe, and the desire to bring European culture to America:

It had occurred to him some time before that it would be the work of a good citizen to go abroad and with all expedition and secrecy purchase certain valuable specimens of the Dutch and Italian Schools as to which he had received private proposals, and then present his treasures out of hand to an American city, not unknown to aesthetic fame, in which at that time there prevailed a good deal of fruitless aspiration towards an art-museum (*RH*, 170).³²⁶

The emphasis here falls on the role Italian art can play in shaping America's cultural landscape, and it is notable that Rowland considers it good citizenship to perform this task as a patriotic duty. While Rowland claims to not have the capital to do something of more practical use, such as '[f]ound an orphan asylum, or build a dormitory for Harvard', it is because he does not have enough money to do so 'in an ideally handsome way' (*RH*, 169). The desire to do something 'handsome' instead of simply functional, emphasises Rowland's aesthetic ideology. Instead, he intends to travel to Europe, where – he says to Mary Garland – he hopes to 'do no great harm' (*RH*, 168).

Jonathan Freedman writes of the relation of Rowland's relative inactivity here to Pater's conception of aestheticism, noting that Rowland

defines his aspirations in terms that frequently echo Paterian pronouncements [...] Rowland's belief that "a passive life in Rome, thanks to the number and quality of one's impressions, takes ... on a very respectable likeness to activity" (*RH*, 170-1) suggests

³²⁶ The city in question is most likely to be Boston. Charles R. Anderson has identified the year of the novel's setting as being around 1869, the year before the Museum of Fine Arts was founded (Anderson, 10-11). The museum was still unopened at the time James was writing in 1874.

his wistful belief in Pater's "higher morality," in "not action but contemplation – *being* as distinct from *doing* – a certain disposition of mind".³²⁷

I would agree with Freedman that Rowland embodies these ideas up to a point; in the following chapter, Rowland replies to Mary Garland's question "[w]hat do you do all day?" with "[n]othing worth relating. That's why I am going to Europe. There, at least, if I do nothing, I shall see a great deal; and if I'm not a producer, I shall at any rate be an observer" (*RH*, 216). The use of the term 'observer' recalls Mr. Brooke's thoughts about observation in 'Travelling Companions', suggesting to his magazine readers familiar with the tale a connection between himself and Mr. Brooke, an idea I will expand upon later in the chapter. Identified as the 'observer' of the novel, Rowland feeds into James' established method of using cultural references to read characters.

In this opening section, James includes his first cultural reference, when he writes of Rowland 'see[ing] himself in imagination, more than once, in some mouldy old saloon of a Florentine palace, turning toward the deep embrasure of the window some scarcely-faded Ghirlandaio or Botticelli' (*RH*, 170). The first, and possibly most obvious, reason for choosing these two painters is perhaps that they were not particularly popular at this point in history, so one imagines their works might be cheaper to purchase than say, a Titian or Veronese.³²⁸ Yet to his informed contemporary reader, the mention of Botticelli would certainly conjure up associations with Pater, whose writing on Botticelli had by then been published in his *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*. In his essay, Pater contrasts the two artists, saying of Ghirlandaio, that he 'do[es little] but transcribe with more or less refining the outward image [i.e. his subject]', whilst for Botticelli, this outward image 'awakes in him, moreover, by some subtle structure of his own, a mood which awakes in no one else.'³²⁹ James himself had also written at some length about the two artists in both 'The Autumn in

³²⁷ Jonathan Freedman, *Professions of Taste: Henry James, British Aestheticism, and Commodity Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 137. Freedman is quoting Pater's essay on Wordsworth, published in the *Fortnightly Review* in April 1874, so it is possible James had read it as he was beginning *Roderick Hudson* that same month. Walter Pater, 'Wordsworth', in *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 15 New Series, Issue 87 (April 1874), 455-465, 465, hereafter Wordsworth.

³²⁸ I would disagree with Elizabeth Duquette's claim that 'Rowland's clichéd notion of collecting, decked out in the finest romantic finery, makes clear that his ideal plan is entirely self-serving and self-reflecting'. Elizabeth Duquette, "'Reflected Usefulness': Exemplifying Conduct in *Roderick Hudson*", in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 23, Number 2 (Spring 2002), 157-175, 163.

³²⁹ Walter Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 31.

Florence', and 'Florentine Notes'. What had respectively appeared as a travel sketch in *The Nation* and as a series of articles in the *Independent*, had, by the time of *Roderick Hudson*, been collected in book form in *Transatlantic Sketches*, making it easier for his readers to recognise his allusions.³³⁰

'Florentine Notes' was written between February and April 1874 – the same time James began thinking about *Roderick Hudson* – and includes a discussion of Pater's conception of Botticelli. In this, James describes Pater as '[a]n accomplished critic', saying he writes about Botticelli 'on the whole more eloquently than conclusively. [...] Putting aside whatever seems too recondite in Mr. Pater's interpretation, it is evidence of the painter's power that he has furnished so fastidious a critic so inspiring a theme.'³³¹ For readers of the novel and travel sketch, the allusion to Botticelli would serve to indicate Rowland's association with Paterian aestheticism. The hint towards Pater also echoes the similar allusions of Mrs. Coventry, Theobald's disappointed patron in 'The Madonna of the Future', who also alludes to Pater's essays (see p. 144), thereby subtly drawing parallels between the aesthetic sensibilities of the two characters, and foreshadowing Rowland's role as Roderick's patron.

The reference to Botticelli and Ghirlandaio also serves a third purpose. In the earlier 'The Autumn in Florence', James writes of a painting by Botticelli 'lurking obscurely' in the Florentine Academy:

It had a mean black frame, and it was hung where no one would have looked for a masterpiece; but a good glass brought out its merits. It represented the walk of Tobias with the Angel, and there are parts of it really that an angel might have painted. Placed as it is, I doubt whether it is noticed by half a dozen persons a year. What a pity that it should not become the property of an institution which would give it a brave gilded frame and a strong American light! Then it might shed its wonderful beauty with all the force of rare example.³³²

³³⁰ For a complete list of the original publication dates of 'Florentine Notes', see Henry James, *Italian Hours*, intro. & notes by John Auchard (London: Penguin, 1992), n247, hereafter *IH*.

³³¹ Henry James, 'Florentine Notes', in *Transatlantic Sketches* (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co., 1875), 279-314, 299-300.

³³² Henry James, 'The Autumn in Florence', in *Transatlantic Sketches* (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co., 1875), 269-278, 276, hereafter *AF*.



(fig. 53) Domenico di Michelino, *Tobias and the Three Angels* (c. 1480), National Academy, Florence.



(fig. 54) Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Adoration of the Kings* (1485-1488), Hospital of the Innocenti, Florence.

The painting in question has since been identified as being painted by Domenico di Michelino, a contemporary of Botticelli (*IH*, n244, fig. 53). However, the similarity in sentiment between the travel sketch and the novel is striking; both express a desire to bring neglected paintings to 'light' through taking them to America.

The reference to Ghirlandaio also plays a similar role. In 'The Autumn in Florence', James finishes the sketch by describing

a patient artist whom I saw the other day copying the finest of Ghirlandaios – a beautiful "Adoration of the Kings" at the Hospital of the Innocenti [(fig. 54)]. This is another specimen of the buried art-wealth of Florence. It hangs in a dusky chapel, far aloft, behind an altar, and, though now and then a stray tourist wanders in and puzzles awhile over the vaguely glowing forms, the picture is never really seen and enjoyed. [...] [I]f the reader ever observes this brilliant copy in the Museum of Copies in Paris, let him stop before it with a certain reverence; it is one of the most patient things in art. Seeing it wrought there, in its dusky chapel, in such scanty convenience, seemed to remind me that the old art-life of Florence was not yet extinct. The old painters are dead, but their influence is still living. (AF, 277-8)

Again, here James emphasises the importance of bringing these rather neglected painters to the attention of the public; neither of the paintings are mentioned in Murray's *Handbook for Central Italy & Florence*.³³³ For James' own public, familiar with his travel sketches, Rowland's reference to the paintings in the novel echoes James' own sentiments of wanting to bring the paintings out of the shadows and into the light of the public eye. Pater also does this in his work, drawing attention to then neglected artists of the Renaissance.

Rowland is introduced to the undiscovered work of an American artist when his cousin Cecilia shows him one of Roderick's sculptures in her parlour. Here, the statue is viewed from her 'shady porch', and Cecilia is observed to be 'adjusting the light' (*RH*, 177-8), subtly echoing the motif James uses in both his travel sketches and earlier in the chapter. In presenting Roderick to the reader,

³³³ John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy and Florence* (London: John Murray, 1867), 183-6 for the Accademia delle Belle Arti, 192 for the Hospital of the Innocenti.

James chooses to lead with a description of his statue, entitled 'Thirst'. Instead of Roderick discussing his perception of something cultural to introduce aspects of his character, James uses one of his own statues to represent his character. There doesn't seem to be a contemporary source for this sculpture, but the symbolism of thirst could allude to a number of things, as Roderick himself says later: 'The cup is knowledge, pleasure, experience. Anything of that kind!' (*RH*, 184). These are all things that Roderick himself thirsts for. Until the pair travel to Rome, Roderick doesn't make a single reference or allusion to Italian art and culture. This blankness helps to emphasise Rowland's sense of Roderick as 'the happy youth, who, in a New England village, without aid or encouragement, without models or resources, had found it so easy to produce a lovely work' (*RH*, 179). This echoes Emerson's concept of Self-Reliance, already touched on in 'The Madonna of the Future' (see p. 136), a sharp contrast to James' famous complaint later in his biography of Hawthorne of the lack of culture in America.³³⁴ Unlike Rowland, Roderick is able to produce this work, amongst others, without European influence (although it is worth considering whether he would have continued and gone on to pursue a similar career trajectory in America, or whether his downfall is catalysed solely by being in Italy); in fact, he expresses no specific cultural preferences until he gets to Rome, which emphasises his innate talent.

James develops Roderick's "self-reliance" through his association with the small-town lawyer Barnaby Stryker. Roderick's imitation of him reciting the Declaration of Independence is perceived by Rowland as being done 'like most men with a turn for the plastic arts[; he] was an excellent mimic' (*RH*, 183). In reciting the Declaration, Roderick is aligning himself – though mockingly – with American values of independence, the act of separating oneself from Europe. Stryker, himself a parody of self-reliance, later emphasises such values in the following chapter when he declares: 'I didn't go off to the Old World to learn my business; no one took me by the hand; I had to grease my wheels myself, and, such as I am, I'm a self-made man, every inch of me!' (*RH*, 208). This echoes the narrator's sentiments in 'The Madonna of the Future' when he says '[n]othing is so idle as to talk about our want of a nutritive soil, of opportunity, of inspiration, and all the rest of it' (*MF*, 15). But whilst Stryker's declarations of independence are both political and economic, Roderick's are cultural, aligning him with the ideas present in 'The Madonna of the Future'.

³³⁴ Henry James, *Hawthorne* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1879), 43.

James emphasises the difference between Rowland and Roderick in their discussion of the cultural merits of the United States. Rowland talks of ‘this practical quarrel of ours with our own country, this everlasting impatience to get out of it. [...] This is an American day, an American landscape, an American atmosphere. It certainly has its merits, and some day when I am shivering with ague in classic Italy, I shall accuse myself of having slighted them’ (*RH*, 187). In contrast, Roderick launches into a speech Rowland perceives as being based on ‘the inspiration of the moment’, saying that ‘[h]e didn’t see why we shouldn’t produce the greatest works in the world. We were the biggest people, and we ought to have the biggest conceptions. The biggest conceptions of course would bring forth in time the biggest performances. We had only to be true to ourselves, to pitch in and not be afraid, to fling Imitation overboard and fix our eyes upon our National Individuality’ (*RH*, 187-8). James’ capitalisation of ‘Imitation’ and ‘National Individuality’ helps to emphasise the phrases as abstract ideas in Roderick’s speech; but it also draws attention to them for different reasons for a contemporary readership. For an American reader, the word ‘imitation’ would be strongly associated with Emerson, who uses the word in both his essays ‘Self-Reliance’ – ‘[t]here is a time in every man’s education that he arrives at the conviction that envy is ignorance, that imitation is suicide’³³⁵ – and ‘Art’: ‘Thus in our fine arts, not imitation, but creation is the aim.’³³⁶ James emphasised the connection between Roderick’s speech and Emerson’s essay on art in the New York Edition where Roderick declares he desires to be the ‘aboriginal, national American artist!’ as opposed to simply ‘original’; for Emerson writes in ‘Art’ that ‘[t]he reference of all production at last to an aboriginal Power explains the traits common to all works of the highest art, – that they are universally intelligible’ (*Art*, 434).

James’ use of the phrase ‘National Individuality’ may derive from an essay in the *Galaxy* on ‘American Painters’ by Russell Sturgis Jr., one of the founders of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In

³³⁵ Ralph Waldo Emerson, ‘Self-Reliance’, in *Essays and Lectures* (New York: Library of America, 1983), 259-282, 259.

³³⁶ Ralph Waldo Emerson, ‘Art’, in *Essays and Lectures* (New York: Library of America, 1983), 431-440, 431, hereafter ‘Art’.

this article, Sturgis writes of the state of American art in the context of Taine's theory that 'the artist is the embodiment of his era'.³³⁷ Sturgis writes that

the theory fails in this, that some eras are but imperfectly represented by their fine arts, and some hardly at all. This present decade, for instance, in the United States, is but poorly expressed by the pictures, taken together, which are produced here and now. The only thing the pictures of the day truly represent is a comparatively unformed national mind and character – a want of national individuality' (AP, 226-7).

Roderick's declaration of America's need to create a national art implies Taine's theory, whilst borrowing a phrase from an article that explicitly names Taine and comes from the period the novel is set in, emphasises this for readers of the novel familiar with the *Galaxy's* content. Again, James seems to expect a broad readership.

In comparison to the discussion of American art between H. and Theobald in 'The Madonna of the Future', James inverts the roles in the novel. In 'The Madonna of the Future', Theobald calls Americans 'the disinherited of art', whilst H. tells him that 'the worthy part is to do something fine' (MF, 15). Here in *Roderick Hudson*, the artist is the one calling for an American cultural identity, whilst the observer figure is the one looking to Europe for cultural inspiration. This highlights the importance of Europe to those that have been there – neither Roderick nor H. have been in Italy at all, or for longer than a day, when they utter these words. For a reader familiar with Theobald's tale, this reversal of roles actually helps to foreshadow Roderick's moral decline in Rome later in the novel. Roderick relates to Rowland that to his mother, 'Rome is an evil word, [...] to be said in a whisper, as you'd say "damnation."' Northampton is in the centre of the earth and Rome far away in outlying dusk, into which it can do no Christian any good to penetrate' (RH, 195).

Nevertheless, Rowland insists that to be an artist, Roderick must train in Italy: 'if you are to be a sculptor, you ought to go to Rome and study the antique' (RH, 189). For Rowland, established in these early pages as an aesthete, it is in his interest to persuade Roderick to go to Rome so as to enforce his view that Europe can enhance America's cultural output. By providing Roderick with

³³⁷ Russell Sturgis Jr., 'American Painters', in *The Galaxy*, Vol. 4, Issue 2 (June 1867), 226-236, 226, hereafter AP. The article is a review of the National Academy Exhibition, where John La Farge had work exhibited, so it is possible James read it for a mention of his friend. Sturgis calls his work 'powerful' (AP, 236).



(fig. 55) Guercino, *Aurora* (1621), Villa Ludovisi, Rome.

the economic means to learn from Roman antique culture, Rowland becomes his patron, taking away his self-reliance; in exchange for his artistic freedom, he is now reliant on Rowland for financial support.

On his characters' arrival in Rome, James once again returns to exploring the relationship between culture and character in the way he does in his earlier tales. Roderick and Rowland both associate themselves with works of art that serve to highlight elements of either their character, or the plot. At the Villa Ludovisi, Rowland goes 'dutifully to pay his respects' to 'a fresco of Guercino', which Roderick says 'couldn't be worth a fig' (*RH*, 222). The fresco in question is *Aurora*, depicting the goddess of the dawn (fig. 55); Adeline Tintner says it is 'the symbol of the dawn of Roderick's career.'³³⁸ Whilst this may be true to an extent, Tintner doesn't note that the fresco is also discussed by James in his travel sketch 'From a Roman Notebook', where he says 'If I don't praise Guercino's *Aurora* in the greater Casino, it is for another reason; it is certainly a very muddy masterpiece. It

³³⁸ Adeline Tintner, *The Museum World of Henry James* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 43, hereafter *MWHJ*.

figures on the ceiling of a small low hall; the painting is coarse, and the ceiling too near.'³³⁹ The way James talks about the fresco here indicates it to be one of the many paintings one "ought" to see in Rome. Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Rome* writes that it is 'the celebrated fresco, by *Guercino*, representing Aurora in her car driving away Night and scattering flowers in her course'.³⁴⁰ Rowland, by 'dutifully' paying his respects to the fresco shows his awareness of its presence, and sense that one ought to see them, compared to Roderick whose 'indigestion of impressions' causes him to say that he wants to see no more art apart from 'Roderick Hudson's' (*RH*, 222).³⁴¹



(fig. 56) Michaelangelo, *Moses* (1513-15), Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

The one work of art James does associate Roderick with is Michelangelo's *Moses*, of which Roderick says that 'when I was looking at [it], I was seized with a kind of defiance – a reaction against all this mere passive

enjoyment of grandeur. It was a rousing success, certainly, that rose there before me, but somehow it was not an inscrutable mystery, and it seemed to me, not perhaps that I should some day do as well, but that at least I *might*!' (*RH*, 223). The use of Michelangelo's *Moses* – which was photographed often (see p. 41, fig. 56) – again serves a dual role. It helps to continue the association of Roderick with Taine, as Taine writes in *Italy: Rome and Naples*, of the statue's effect:

You feel the imperious will, the ascendancy, the tragic energy of the legislator and exterminator; his heroic muscles and virile beard indicate the primitive barbarian, the

³³⁹ Henry James, 'From a Roman Notebook', in *Galaxy*, Vol. 16, Issue 5 (Nov. 1873), 679-686, 685.

³⁴⁰ John Murray, *Handbook of Rome and its Environs* (London: John Murray, 1872), 344.

³⁴¹ See also Oliver Herford's discussion of James' own indigestion of impressions: Oliver Herford, 'The Roman Lotus: Digestion and Retrospect', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 31, Issue 1 (Winter 2010), 54-60.

subduer of men, while the long head, and the projections of the temples denote the ascetic. Were he to arise, what action and what a lion's voice!³⁴²

The final sentence could easily have been written about Roderick, and echoes his own sentiments, emphasising the importance of action in the artist's life. Additionally, for the reader of James' earlier works, the allusion to *Moses* would also bring back memories of H.'s call of arms to Theobald: 'be you our Moses [...] and lead us out of this house of bondage' (MF, 15) – subtly drawing parallels between Roderick and Theobald. As I will discuss in more detail later, it is at this point that Roderick sees Christina for the first time, and is inspired to create his first work of art in Rome.³⁴³

James' portrayal of the lives of Rowland and Roderick in Rome also plays a role in prefiguring Roderick's downfall. For example, the location of Roderick's studio, 'in that long, tortuous, and preeminently Roman street which leads away from the Corso to the Bridge of St. Angelo' (RH, 230), brings with it associations with the final scene of 'Adina', by mentioning the bridge where Sam Scrope throws away the cursed intaglio. James colours this further by describing Roderick earlier in the chapter as wearing 'a magnificent Roman intaglio on the third finger of his left hand' (RH, 223). The association of Roderick with an intaglio and the site of the disposal of Scrope's gem seems to suggest that Roderick is engaging with the potentially dangerous aspects of Roman culture. Similarly, Rowland's living quarters, 'a convenient quarter in a stately old palace not far from the Fountain of Trevi', in which 'books and pictures and prints and odds and ends of curious furniture gave an air of leisurely permanence' (RH, 231), associate him with leisure and collecting, whilst the location is remarkably close to Palazzo Barberini, associated with Hawthorne and William Wetmore Story. Whilst James had visited Story at the palace in 1873 (CL1872-76:1, 198), for James' readers in America, Hawthorne's *French and Italian Notebooks*, published in 1871, provided descriptions of

³⁴² Hippolyte Taine, *Italy: Rome and Naples*, trans. by J. Durand (London: Williams and Norgate, 1867), 106.

³⁴³ Philip Sicker discusses Roderick's first sight of Christina in relation to Serafina, writing that 'Roderick momentarily doubts the reality of the girl's physical appearance, but this outer beauty, unlike Serafina's, is genuine'. Philip Sicker, *Love and the Quest for Identity in the Fiction of Henry James* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 43-4.

the Palazzo and its contents.³⁴⁴ Adeline Tintner writes that James' 'familiarity with the American sculptor William Wetmore Story's Neoclassical imitations – as well as those members of Story's circle during the 1840s and 1850s – had prepared him to deal with sculpture in several stories and *Roderick Hudson*' (*MWHJ*, 35). In lining Rowland up with Story's residence at the Palazzo Barberini, James prepares his readers for the social portrait of the American art world in Rome he was about to portray.

James follows his discussion of Roderick and Rowland's apartments with a portrait of a group of fellow American artists, who come to see the unveiling of Roderick's first statue, Adam. Amongst them are the two artists who have been the focus of a large amount of interest for critics, the landscape artist Sam Singleton and the sculptor Gloriani.³⁴⁵ The second artist, Sam Singleton, has been the focus of a large amount of criticism in comparison with Roderick as the epitome of the hard-working artist; most notably by Philip Horne in *Henry James and Revision*, where he explores how Singleton's 'apprenticeship takes him steadily beyond the fallen Roderick' (Horne, 104).

Gloriani is successful, being 'deluged with orders', despite his works being 'considered by some people to belong to a very corrupt, and by many to a positively indecent school' (*RH*, 236-7). Carl Maves and Viola Winner rightly note the similarity between Gloriani and the commercial sculptor who makes cats and monkeys in 'The Madonna of the Future' (Maves, 53);³⁴⁶ Gloriani also returns in *The Ambassadors*, a novel James wrote 30 years later, signifying his long-lasting success compared to Roderick's premature death. His moral behaviour is also rather dubious in a way that echoes the suggestion of an improper relationship between the plastic sculptor and Serafina; '[w]hen sometimes he received you at his lodging, he introduced you to a lady with a plain face whom he called Madame Gloriani – which she was not' (*RH*, 237). In comparison, Roderick fulfills the role of

³⁴⁴ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The French and Italian Notebooks*, ed. by Thomas Woodson (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1980), 139-141. James was to also use the motif of cultural clutter in his description of Gilbert Osmond's Florentine villa. Henry James, *The Portrait of a Lady* (London: Penguin, 2012), 238, hereafter *POAL*.

³⁴⁵ See, for example: Edward Wagenknecht, *The Novels of Henry James* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1983), 39.

³⁴⁶ Viola Hopkins Winner, *Henry James and the Visual Arts* (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1970), 103.

the idealist artist, saying '[t]he Greeks never made anything ugly, and I'm a Hellenist; I'm not a Hebraist!' (*RH*, 242). In saying this, Roderick alludes to Matthew Arnold's conception of the conflict between the two sensibilities, and places himself firmly in the camp of Hellenism, the one favoured by Pater.³⁴⁷ As Craig A. Milliman explains, '[t]his exchange between Gloriani and Roderick dramatises the opposition between the mature realist and the naïve romantic.'³⁴⁸

However, I would like to focus on another aspect of the dinner scene, which picks up on elements from 'The Madonna of the Future'. Amongst the social circle James portrays is Madame Grandoni, a widow, who tells a warning tale of an artist who wastes his talent falling in love with his model. The tale directly echoes that of Theobald in 'The Madonna of the Future'. The artist, Herr Schafgans' 'talk was all of gilded aureoles and beatific visions; he lived on weak wine and biscuits, and wore a lock of Saint Something's hair in a little bag round his neck. If he was not a Beato Angelico, it was not his own fault' (*RH*, 245). If one replaced the lock of hair with a medieval beretta and Beato Angelico with Raphael, the description could well be of Theobald. Herr Schafgans falls in love with a model, but unlike Theobald, he marries her, after which, '[t]he poor fellow was ruined. His wife used to beat him, and he had taken to drinking. [...] His talent had gone heaven knows where!' (*RH*, 246). The motif of love – platonic or otherwise – adversely affecting one's creativity is similar to 'The Madonna of the Future', and readers familiar with this earlier tale would likely recognise the allusion.

Roderick brushes off the advice, replying "'Moral: don't fall in love with a buxom Roman model, [...] I'm much obliged to you for your story, but I don't mean to fall in love with anyone'" (*RH*, 246).

Considering his admiration for Christina Light after merely one glimpse of her, this seems a rather hubristic claim. It is important to stress that at this point in the novel, Roderick does not allow his

³⁴⁷ Arnold wrote in 1869 that '[t]he final aim of both Hellenism and Hebraism, as of all great spiritual disciplines, is no doubt the same: man's perfection or salvation [...] Still, they pursue this aim by very different courses. The uppermost idea with Hellenism is to see things as they really are; the uppermost idea with Hebraism is conduct and obedience'. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 96-7. See also, Edward Engelberg, 'James and Arnold: Conscience and Consciousness in a Victorian *Künstlerroman*', in *Henry James's Major Novels: Essays in Criticism*, ed. by Lyall H. Powers (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1973), 3-27, 7-14.

³⁴⁸ Craig A. Milliman, 'The Fiction of Art: Roderick Hudson's Pursuit of the Ideal', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 15, Issue 3 (Fall 1994), 231-241, 234.

desire for Christina to cloud his creativity; in fact it seems to plant the seed of inspiration in his head, as it is after seeing her that he sets to work on his statue of Adam. However, through Madame Grandoni's portrayal of the downfall of an artist, recalling 'The Madonna of the Future', James reminds his readers of the events of that tale, where an artist's admiration for a model does cloud his creativity. Roderick, although his admiration for Christina is from a safe aesthetic distance at this point in the novel, eventually follows in Theobald and Herr Schafgans' footsteps and finds himself similarly unable to work. The three examples – Theobald and Serafina, Herr Schafgans and his wife, and Roderick and Christina – all indicate to the reader that infatuation and idealisation of one's model can have an adverse effect on one's artistic work in one way or another.

James further portrays the effect of women on Roderick's creativity when he alludes to the events of his tale 'Eugene Pickering'. At the beginning of the chapter titled "Experience", Roderick writes to Rowland from Baden-Baden in Germany, requesting money, having gambled his away. On his return it transpires that he spent much of his time 'dangling about with several very pretty women', one of whom reminds Rowland 'of Madame de Cruchecassée in *The Newcomes*' (RH, 256-7), an allusion to a minor character in Thackeray's long fictional family history. In Thackeray's novel, the young artist Clive Newcome is led astray from the cousin he is betrothed to by the lure of Europe's social and gambling circles, and eventually marries another girl. Madame Cruchecassée's role in the novel is negligible, she appears during Clive's time in Baden-Baden, but in referencing *The Newcomes*, James draws attention to its plot, foreshadowing the abandonment of Mary Garland for Christina Light.

James sets the scene of Roderick's hedonism at Baden-Baden; William James mistook the setting of 'Eugene Pickering' in Hamburg for the spa-town when he described the tale in a letter dated March 22nd 1874 to his brother as being 'about the ingenuous youth in Baden & the Coquette' (CWJ, 226-7). There are similarities between the events of the episode in the novel and the short story; both young men, despite being engaged to someone else, are temporarily enamoured by a female character in Germany. For a reader of James' tale, which was published only a month before the first instalment of *Roderick Hudson* in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the situation Roderick finds himself in is directly comparable to that of Pickering, thus allowing the reader to fill in the gaps of what might have happened to him in Germany.

It is important to take a closer look at the tale in this context, as it foreshadows a number of issues that James deals with later in the novel. The first is his portrayal of Madame Blumenthal, whom James seems to align with Madame de Staël or the titular character of her novel *Corinne, or Italy* (1807). Madame Blumenthal has written 'a *Trauerspiel* in five acts, entitled Cleopatra. [...] the speeches were very long, and there was an inordinate number of soliloquies by the heroine' (EP, 320).³⁴⁹ The narrator quotes one of these soliloquies from 'toward the end of the play', which is rather similar stylistically to the numerous soliloquies Corinne engages in: "What, after all, is life but sensation, and sensation but deception? – reality that pales before the light of one's dreams, as Octavia's dull beauty fades beside mine? But let me believe in some intenser bliss and seek it in the arms of death!" (EP, 320). Compared with a later chapter in *Corinne*, entitled, "Fragments of Corinne's Thoughts", James' version seems to be a parody: 'Insoluble riddle of life, which no passion, no grief, no genius, can solve, will you be disclosed to prayer? Perhaps the simplest idea of all explains these mysteries! Have we perhaps come so close to it a thousand times in our daydreams? But this last step is impossible, and our futile efforts of every kind weary the soul. It is high time for mine to take a rest.'³⁵⁰ In *Corinne*, the Scottish Lord Nevil travels to Italy on his Grand Tour and falls in love with the poet and artist Corinne, only to abandon her for the woman he promised his dying father he would marry. In 'Eugene Pickering', James plays with this motif, and changes the plot by having Madame Blumenthal break off her engagement to Pickering soon after he proposes, claiming the whole affair was simply an exercise in creating a narrative. James builds on this even further in *Roderick Hudson*, where the artist figure is Roderick himself, and he uses the inspiration of the episode in Baden-Baden to create his second work of art, which portrays 'a woman, leaning lazily back in her chair [...] With rather less softness of contour, it would have

³⁴⁹ This also echoes William Wetmore Story's *Nero*, which James heard read in 1873-4, as he was to later recount in *William Wetmore Story and his Friends* (1903). Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and his Friends: Vol. 2* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1957), 253-5) William Wetmore Story, *Nero* (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1875)). A further connection of the play with Story is that one of his most famous sculptures, described by Hawthorne in *The Marble Faun*, was of Cleopatra. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ed. by Susan Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 96-99.

³⁵⁰ Madame de Staël, *Corinne, or Italy*, trans. by Sylvia Raphael (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 360, hereafter *Corinne*.



(fig. 57) *Agrippina the Younger* (date unknown), Capitoline Museum, Rome.

resembled the noble statue of Agrippina in the Capitol' (fig. 57); Roderick calls it 'A Reminiscence' (*RH*, 259).³⁵¹

The significance of the creation of the statue is worth briefly exploring in relation to 'The Madonna of the Future', as I would like to suggest that this may be a reworking of the deleted episode of the tale, where Theobald 'tells of his love for, and his visit from the Titian-ic beauty, and his subsequent disgust of her worthlessness', which Howells had deemed 'too risky for the magazine'.³⁵² As discussed in the earlier chapter, the model referred to here seems to have been a character James used to contrast with Serafina, whom Theobald worships as his ideal beauty (see p. 147-8). In *Roderick Hudson*, James is able to replicate the situation in a subtler, less overtly sexual way, and displaces the action to Germany, away from the eyes of Rowland, so the sexual aspects of the encounter are merely alluded to. Instead James emphasises the role the encounter plays in allowing Roderick to create the statue, which he then goes on to contrast with the effect of Christina on Roderick's work.

³⁵¹ The statue of Agrippina, now identified as being of Helena of Constantinople, was one of the well-known works on the itinerary of Murray's *Handbook*, which describes the statue as 'celebrated [...] remarkable for the ease of the position and the arrangement of the drapery' (*MHR*, 235).

³⁵² Henry James Sr., Letter to Henry James (14th January [1873]), James Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., ed. by Pierre A. Walker et al. 2005, Salem State College, <http://www.dearhenryjames.org>.

Rowland presents the statue to the other American artists, with Gloriani seeing it as evidence that Roderick 'couldn't keep up the transcendental style, and he has already broken down', asking '[h]as he been disappointed in love?' (*RH*, 261-2). Gloriani's recognition that the statue is the effect of an affair demonstrates his awareness that one's creativity can be adversely affected by love. His description of Roderick's earlier works as 'transcendental' also associates Roderick with the Transcendentalist movement, the insinuation being that stepping away from the principles of self-reliance and using affairs as inspiration might be affecting the quality of his work.

Similarly, Roderick talks of his perception of his sculpture at some length, saying that it 'looks so bad when I come into the studio that I have twenty minds to smash it on the spot, and I lose three or four hours in sitting there, moping and getting used to it' (*RH*, 262). A few days later he complains that he thinks 'it is curiously bad [...] it was bad from the first; it has fundamental vices. I have shuffled them in a measure out of sight, but I have not corrected them. I can't [...] They stare me in the face – they are all I see!' (*RH*, 263). The emphasis here is on his disgust at his work, which again seems to suggest that James is reworking the episode with Theobald, but instead of the disgust being with the worthlessness of the model herself as James' father's letter indicates, the disgust is aimed at the art produced by such an encounter. James seems, then, to be reworking the theme of the episode excised from 'The Madonna of the Future' and presenting it in a less directly scandalous way.

It is immediately after this that James introduces Christina; the rest of the novel deals with how she affects Roderick's creativity. In introducing her as soon as Roderick criticises the statue for being bad, he provides Roderick with the 'idea' and the ideal model that he needs: 'I haven't an idea. I think of subjects, but they remain mere lifeless names. They are mere words – they are not images' (*RH*, 263). At that moment, Christina and her entourage enter his studio, a scene I will explore in greater detail later. Roderick is immediately struck by her beauty, demanding that he sculpt her bust. After she agrees, Roderick focuses on her ideal traits, calling her 'a goddess', whilst Rowland remains skeptical, saying she 'is all the more dangerous' for it (*RH*, 270). James goes on to focus on the process by which Roderick falls for her, in spite of Rowland's many warnings, as I will touch on in the next section. Interestingly, despite James' later protestation that his downfall is too

fast, the reader of the novel familiar with ‘The Madonna of the Future’, aware of how idealising a model affects Theobald’s artistic output, might expect Roderick to immediately follow suit. Instead James could be seen as playing with this expectation, insofar as he seems to allude to the tale throughout the first few chapters of the novel – but only until Christina appears. Once she is on the scene, James stops drawing comparisons to the tale until the point in the novel where Roderick is unable to work from lovesickness. When James depicts Roderick working on her bust, the parallels between Theobald and Roderick are temporarily interrupted, thus slowing down Roderick’s anticipated downfall for readers familiar with the short story.

However, James emphasises the parallel between Theobald and Roderick’s career once again in the chapter entitled “Provocation”. Opening with a letter from Rowland to his cousin Cecilia, where he likens the situation between Roderick and Christina to ‘another case of Ulysses alongside of the Sirens; only Roderick refuses to be tied to the mast’ (*RH*, 358) – an analogy that could similarly be used to describe Theobald’s love for Serafina – the chapter goes on to explore more of Roderick’s art. James makes use of the American character Mr. Leavenworth – an American who goes on to marry Miss Blanchard in a minor sub-plot – to provide an outsider’s perspective on Roderick’s sculptures, and in doing so gives the reader another echo of the relationship between the artists in the two works.

Mr. Leavenworth embodies the dominant cultural values of America, a fact James makes clear by having him echo the ideas of the American sculptor Kenyon from Hawthorne’s *The Marble Faun*. Mr. Leavenworth says of Roderick’s statue of a drunken *lazzarone* ‘in the style of the Dying Gladiator’ that ‘[s]culpture should not deal with transitory attitudes’ (*RH*, 361), a variation of Kenyon’s comment on the *Dying Gladiator* that ‘[f]litting moments [...] ought not to be incrustated with the eternal repose of marble; in any sculptural subject, there should be a moral standstill’ (*MF*, 16, fig. 58).³⁵³ In aligning Mr. Leavenworth with Kenyon, James emphasises his American idealism. Leavenworth expresses this further when he sees the bust of Christina, describing it as ‘[a]n ideal head, I presume, [...] a fanciful representation of one of the pagan goddesses – a Diana, a Flora, a

³⁵³ *The Dying Gladiator* was depicted in Panini’s *Interior of an Imaginary Picture Gallery with Views of Modern Rome* (see p. 37).



(fig. 58) *The Dying Gladiator* (date unknown), Capitoline Museum, Rome.

naiad or dryad?’ although when Roderick tells him it is of Miss Light, he expresses relief that it is ‘[n]ot a pagan goddess – an American, Christian lady!’ (*RH*, 362). In mistaking her for an ‘ideal’ when the bust is simply a portrait, Mr. Leavenworth’s observations echo the debate between Theobald and H. about Raphael’s *Madonna della Seddia*, where Theobald’s romantic notion of the painting as an ideal is countered by H.’s more realistic and historically accurate perception that it is simply a picture of ‘some pretty young woman’ (*MF*, 20, see also p. 140). Here however, it is Mr. Leavenworth who perceives the bust as an ideal head, and Roderick who reveals its more commonplace origins. For the reader familiar with the tale, this variation on the story’s discussions about what art ought to represent serves to remind them of the parallel between Roderick and Theobald.

The language from this encounter between Roderick and Mr. Leavenworth that alludes to Theobald’s discussion of the *Madonna della Seddia* becomes more strongly associated with it by James’ direct reference to the painting later in the chapter. Rowland goes to Florence and sees Raphael’s *Madonna della Seddia*, which ‘seemed, in its soft serenity, to mock him with the suggestion of unattainable repose’ (*RH*, 370). The phrase ‘unattainable repose’, although primarily referring to Rowland’s restlessness, also alludes to the idea that nobody could create an equal masterpiece – something Theobald aspired to, and Roderick similarly aspires to, albeit in the realm

of sculpture. For the reader of 'The Madonna of the Future', the reference to the painting, which Theobald held to be the ideal of all art, suggests that Roderick is subsequently going to follow in Theobald's footsteps and not be able to create anymore. Besides the bust of his mother, Roderick makes no other sculptures before his death in the final chapter.

Once he has seen the *Madonna of the Chair*, which signals Roderick's downfall, Rowland's thoughts turn to Mary Garland:

In his melancholy meditations the idea of something better than all this [...] something that might reconcile him to the future [...] – the idea of concrete compensation, in a word – shaped itself sooner or later into the image of Mary Garland (*RH*, 370).

From this point on, James focuses on portraying Roderick's downfall, whilst contrasting it with the developing relationship between Mary Garland and Rowland Mallet. In the next section I explore how James portrays Rowland's sense of the contrast between Christina Light and Mary Garland to emphasise the valuable qualities of the latter in contrast to the dangerous ones of the former. He does this partly through allusions to material from 'The Last of the Valerii' and 'Travelling Companions'. In doing so, he provides the potential love affair between Rowland and Mary as a foil to the tragedy of Roderick's death.

Christina Light and Mary Garland

In this section, I want to explore how James portrays the two women who are rivals for Roderick's attention, and the ways in which he alludes to his own tales to highlight different aspects of their relationships.³⁵⁴ With Christina Light, James is careful in his portrayal of her to not allow her to voice any cultural references that give away anything of her character, instead allowing others to attribute cultural meanings to her. Christina's lack of expression of any cultural preferences adds to the ambiguity of her character; neither Rowland, nor the reader, is able to fully grasp whether the way she behaves is deliberately coquettish or not. It could be suggested that Christina's absence of culture makes her character hard to define because James' readers would be used to his technique

³⁵⁴ Natasha Sajé writes that '[i]n crude terms, Christina and Mary are Hawthorne's dark and light ladies, respectively, as well as coquette and prude'. Natasha Sajé, "Artful Artlessness": Reading the Coquette in *Roderick Hudson*, in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 18, Issue 2 (1997), 161-172, 163.

of equating culture and character. With Mary Garland however, James returns to his customary approach of revealing aspects of her character through her reading and appreciation of art. In this way, the reader and Rowland are able to understand her character and intentions.

Christina is first introduced to the reader in the gardens of the Villa Ludovisi, the site of the Ludovisi Juno described in James' travel writing (see p. 169) – after seeing which, Roderick says it is 'a profanation to look at anything but sky and trees' (*RH*, 222). James is careful to portray Christina from afar, and give her no distinguishing features of personality beyond her obvious aesthetic beauty. He describes Christina last in the procession of her mother, the Cavaliere, her poodle Stenterello, and herself: 'A pair of extraordinary dark blue eyes, a mass of dusky hair over a low forehead, a blooming oval of perfect purity, a flexible lip, just touched with disdain, the step and carriage of a tired princess – there were the general features of her vision' (*RH*, 229). The description reveals nothing of her personality apart from a vague sense of her air of superiority; the focus is mostly on her physical appearance. However, both Roderick and Rowland attempt to attach significance to her: Roderick compares her dog to 'a grotesque phantom, like the black dog in Faust', whilst Rowland observes that he 'hope[s] in the least that the young lady has nothing in common with Mephistopheles. She looked dangerous' (*RH*, 229). In trying to frame her character through a cultural lens – James is referring to Goethe's play here – like so many of James' other characters, Roderick and Rowland are attempting to attribute personality traits to her. For both of them however, her beauty is dangerous; 'If beauty is immoral, as people think at Northampton [...] she is the incarnation of evil' (*RH*, 230).

Roderick also emphasises his aesthetic attraction to her by saying, 'I shall have had a glimpse of ideal beauty' (*RH*, 230). He produces a sketch which 'represented the [Ludovisi] Juno as to the position of the head, the brow, and the broad fillet across the hair; but the eyes, the mouth, the physiognomy were a vivid portrait of the young girl with the poodle' (*RH*, 230). In doing this, he again attempts to give Christina cultural significance.³⁵⁵ This reference has a strong significance for

³⁵⁵ Dale E. Peterson explains that '[t]his is more than an aesthetic mistake. Looking at Christina Light as if her features have a marble placidity, it is all too easy for Roderick to misread her *ethical* nature as "Junoesque"'. Dale E. Peterson, *The Clement Vision: Poetic Realism in Turgenev and James* (Port Washington, N.Y & London: Kennikat Press, 1975), 97-8.

the reader of James' earlier tale, 'The Last of the Valerii', as Adeline Tintner notes (*MWHJ*, 43). His readership would no doubt have connected this with the statue of the Juno in 'The Last of the Valerii', and thus associated Christina Light with the plot of that tale. There, the Juno becomes an object of worship and disrupts the marital relations between Count Valerio and his wife Martha. Here, Christina Light, like Juno, will disrupt the engagement of Roderick and Mary Garland, and it is Roderick who makes the connection between Christina and the Ludovisi Juno.³⁵⁶ In doing this, James is foreshadowing the events of the novel by referencing his own earlier tale. If Christina Light is Juno, then Roderick takes on the role of Count Valerio, worshipping an unattainable "ideal" in lieu of his betrothed Mary Garland, who is of a similar disposition to Martha Valero (note also the similarity between their biblical first names); pure and uncorrupt. Christina not only aesthetically becomes the ideal, but her image becomes entwined with that of the ideal wife in the form of Juno.

James emphasises this connection with 'The Last of the Valerii' by associating Mary Garland with Martha through the motif of her needlework. As discussed in the previous chapter, when the Count Valerio returns to his wife, she is occupied in the household activity of doing needlework, associating her with domesticity and the role of the dutiful wife (see p. 185). In *Roderick Hudson*, when Rowland first meets Mary, she is 'hemming a kitchen towel with the aid of a large steel thimble. She bent her serious eyes at last on her work again, and let Rowland explain himself' (*RH*, 202). Then, in Italy, at the end of the chapter entitled "Mary Garland", Rowland watches her doing the same: '[s]he was always sat at the table, near the candles, with a piece of needle-work. This was the attitude in which Rowland had first seen her, and he thought, now that he had seen her in several others, it was not the least becoming' (*RH*, 398). In doing this, James builds on the correlation between Martha and Mary Garland, encouraging his readers to make the connection between events in the two tales. In carrying out a domestic act Martha associates herself with marriage, reminding us of her homely nature in comparison to Christina's social ambitions.

³⁵⁶ Later in the novel, James describes him as "looking at her as he would have done the Medicean Venus' (*RH*, 268). In light of 'The Last of the Valerii' and its connections to Mérimée's 'La Vénus D'Ille', this may well be a reference to the latter tale, where a marriage is disturbed by a statue of Venus, although not the Venus de Medici.

James fully introduces Christina immediately after Roderick has made his complaints about the quality of his sculpture of the woman at Baden-Baden; as discussed earlier, she appears at the moment he says he needs inspiration or an idea. Again, James does not instantly describe her in great detail: of the three in her party, she is the last to speak, and when she does, she simply introduces her dog: '[h]e's a Florentine. The dogs in Florence are handsomer than the people. [...] His name is Stenterello' (*RH*, 265). The name Stenterello originates from the *Commedia dell Arte*, an Italian theatrical institution where the characters are portrayed in masks. The character of Stenterello is relatively minor – Pierre Louis Duchartre writes that he 'would come on stage and go off without the slightest regard for plot or action.'³⁵⁷ Assuming she named him herself, in giving her poodle a name associated with theatre, and more specifically, a form of drama associated with masks, Christina seems to culturally identify herself with theatricality, suggesting she is being performative in her own behaviour. The earlier allusion to Goethe's drama, *Faust*, also emphasises this.

The first time that Christina shows any specific awareness of cultural products is when she expresses a desire to have the bust Roderick has sculpted of her '[p]laced there under the Sassoferrato', as opposed to her mother's preference for 'a red velvet screen' (*RH*, 285). Considering James' use of Sassoferrato in 'The Madonna of the Future', where Theobald looks at Mrs. Coventry 'as if [she] were a bad copy of a Sassoferrato' (*MF*, 28), the reference seems to denote that Christina is an aficionado of art, as she is aware of the minor Renaissance painter, but this doesn't give away much of her character. The painting is unnamed, and the artist was not particularly widely written about at the time. John Auchard notes that 'James himself had earlier spoken of Sassoferrato – "The artist has nothing to offer but 'finish', but he offers this in elegant profusion"'.³⁵⁸ Later, at the Coliseum, she states that 'all modern sculpture seems to me weak, and that the only things I care for are some of the most battered of the antiques of the Vatican' (*RH*, 337). Again, she doesn't express a

³⁵⁷ Pierre Louis Duchartre, *The Italian Comedy*, trans. by Randolph T. Weaver (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1929), 289. I have not found any contemporary magazine source for this allusion.

³⁵⁸ John Auchard, *Silence in Henry James: The Heritage of Symbolism and Decadence* (University Park & London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), 21. The quote comes from James' 'Art' section in the June 1872 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Henry James, 'Art', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 29, Issue 176 (June 1872), 757-63, 759-60.

preference for any specific works of art, but merely signals her knowledge of the art world, favouring the ancient over the modern.

The reader is introduced to Christina further in the following chapters. We learn about her past and background, most often through second-hand sources, predominantly Madame Grandoni, who previously told the story of Herr Schafgans. James' use of Madame Grandoni to subsequently reveal details and gossip about Christina's life helps to subtly connect her first story about Herr Schafgans' fatal model-wife, with Christina herself, who goes on to cripple Roderick's creativity. Madame Grandoni talks a little of Christina's education, saying she 'suppose[s], she speaks three or four languages, and has read several hundred French novels' (*RH*, 273). The fact that Madame Grandoni merely "supposes" this is problematic to begin with, whilst the lack of specificity with regard to which languages and books Christina knows, largely through her indecipherable cosmopolitanism, denies the reader any concrete cultural hooks with which to interpret Christina's character. This carries over to Rowland's attempts at reading her subsequent behaviour.

At two points in the next chapter, entitled "Christina", Rowland sees contrasting aspects of her character. Whilst she sits for Roderick as he sculpts her bust, she loses patience with his directing her how to adjust her hair, and 'unloose[s] the great coil of her tresses and let[s] them fall over her shoulders' (*RH*, 282). Given the Victorian association of a woman's morality with her hair, this is a sexually suggestive act.³⁵⁹ James writes that

with her perfect face dividing [her hair's] rippling flow she looked like some immaculate saint of legend being led to martyrdom. Rowland's eyes presumably betrayed his admiration, but her own manifested no consciousness of it. If Christina were a coquette, as the remarkable timeliness of this incident might have suggested, she was not a superficial one (*RH*, 282).

In performing what would be considered a coquettish act, but appearing to refuse to acknowledge it as such, Christina's behaviour is hard to interpret as being either unconscious or deliberate. In likening her to a saint, James seems to be attempting to deflect any directly sexual connotations

³⁵⁹ For more on Victorian attitudes to women's hair, see Elizabeth G. Gitter, 'The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination', in *PMLA*, Vol. 99, Issue 5 (Oct. 1984), 936-954.

from her behaviour, perhaps to appease Howells and avoid a repetition of having the scene deleted, as with the Titian-ic beauty episode in 'The Madonna of the Future'. Yet this observation comes from Rowland's perspective, and the focus is on the indeterminacy of whether she is aware of her behaviour.

Later in the chapter, Christina approaches Rowland at a party, where Roderick has been monopolising her attention 'as conspicuous[ly] as Hamlet at Ophelia's feet, at the play' (*RH*, 295). In that scene Hamlet asks Ophelia if he may 'lie [...] my head upon your lap', before going on to observe '[t]hat's a fair thought to lie between maid's legs'³⁶⁰ – and James seems to be playing with the sexual connotations of the scene. Christina asks Rowland to '[p]lease remind Mr. Hudson that he is not in a New England village – that it is not the custom in Rome to address one's conversation exclusively, night after night, to the same poor girl' (*RH*, 295). Her attention to Roman social codes seems the work of a dignified woman, but the next day, Roderick reveals that she tells him often "'I forbid you to leave me'", observing 'she cares as little about the custom as I do' (*RH*, 295). The contrast between her responses to Roderick and Rowland here serves to confuse Rowland as to her intentions, whilst for Roderick her behaviour is simply that of someone who wants to be courted. The mixed message here is purposefully intended to make it unclear to both Rowland and the reader what Christina's motivation behind her behaviour is.

Later in the novel, Christina associates herself with sainthood as Rowland did in the earlier chapter, saying she had read as a child 'the Imitation and the Life of Saint Catherine. I fully believed in the miracles of the saints, and I was dying to have one of my own' (*RH*, 346).³⁶¹ Pater, in his essay on 'Wordsworth', had written of Saint Catherine in comparison to 'Grandet or Javert' – the villains of Balzac's *Eugenie Grandet* and Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* – saying 'we know how false to all higher conceptions of the religious life is the type of one who is ready to do evil that good may come. We

³⁶⁰ William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), Act 3, Scene 2, lines 99-105.

³⁶¹ In the serial version, she says Saint Theresa instead of Catherine. In his notes, William T. Stafford says that '[o]ne possible reason for the change is James' discovery that a reader of the *Imitatione* [by Thomas à Kempis] would be more likely to read a Life of Saint Catherine of Siena than one of Saint Theresa of Avila' (*RH*, 1281). Thomas Aldophus Trollope's *Decade of Italian Women* contains such a biography, and would likely have been known to James' readers. T. Aldophus Trollope, *A Decade of Italian Women: Vol. 1* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1859), 1-89.

contrast with such dark, mistaken eagerness, a type like that of Saint Catherine of Siena, who made the means to her end so attractive' (Wordsworth, 464). The vague connection to Pater, although maybe not recognisable to James' American readership, contrasts the way Christina wishes to be perceived with the way she actually behaves; her actions are perhaps more in line with those of a coquette in a French novel. Rowland is suspicious about her religious claims, and James describes his unease:

Rowland had already been sensible of something in this young lady's tone which he would have called a want of veracity, and this epitome of her religious experience failed to strike him as an absolute statement of fact. [...] She had a fictitious history in which she believed much more fondly than in her real one [...] She liked to idealize herself, to take interesting and picturesque attitudes to her own imagination; and the vivacity and spontaneity of her character gave her, really, a starting point in experience; so that the many-colored flowers of fiction which blossomed in her talk were not so much perversions, as sympathetic exaggerations, of fact (*RH*, 346-7).

The key theme of his thoughts then is whether her speeches are to be treated as fact or fiction. Emphasising their fictional qualities heightens Rowland's sense of the falsity of her character, which adds to the sense that although she is enchanting, Christina is not to be trusted, morally speaking. These episodes anticipate James' later portrayal of Daisy Miller, whose similar ambivalence about her behaviour makes it hard for Winterbourne to understand her moral motivations.

In contrast to James' ambiguous portrayal of Christina, Mary Garland, who makes her appearance in Rome at the end of the next chapter, "Provocation", is far easier for his audience to understand, as she readily expresses cultural preferences as well as explains her behaviour. It is Rowland who seems to benefit from her open discussion of these as he accompanies her through Rome, whereas Roderick mainly spends his time watching over Christina and his rival, the Prince Casamassima. In these interactions, Rowland becomes Roderick's rival in his love for Mary Garland. Yet despite not overtly providing the reader with a happy ending in form of a marriage between Rowland and Mary, James strongly hints throughout his portrayal of Mary Garland in her interactions with Rowland that there is a strong possibility of a relationship between them in the future, were it not for Mary's faithfulness to Roderick, despite his love for Christina. I would argue that he does this through a

number of cultural allusions that not only contrast her with Christina Light, but also echo James' treatment of the relationship between Mr. Brooke and Miss Evans in 'Travelling Companions', where their love story was partially explained by James through cultural references.

Upon Mary Garland's arrival in Rome, James pays more attention to her as a character than he did in the early pages of the novel, although she has been a constant presence in the conversations between Rowland and Roderick. He is careful to associate her with not only specific works of culture that give the reader a sense of her character, but ones that have resonance to the plot of the novel. In the chapter entitled "Mary Garland", Mrs. Hudson reveals that Mary has been reading her Madame de Staël's *Corinne, or Italy*:

"Last winter Mary used to read "Corinne" to me in the evenings, and in the mornings she used to read another book, to herself. What was it, Mary, that book was so long you know, – in fifteen volumes?"

"It was Sismondi's Italian Republics," said Mary, simply.

Rowland could not help laughing; whereupon Mary blushed. "Did you finish it?" he asked.

"Yes, and began another – a shorter one – Roscoe's Leo the Tenth." (*RH*, 380-1)

This discussion of the books Mary has been reading is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, in directly referring to *Corinne*, James once more draws attention to the plot of the novel – where Lord Nevil falls in love with Corinne despite being engaged to another woman, Lucille, in his homeland of Scotland – and implicitly invites his reader to read it for themselves if they haven't already. This is especially important as it is Mrs. Hudson and Mary, Roderick's fiancée, who have just arrived in Rome in an attempt to remind Roderick of his 'contractual' responsibilities back in America, thus drawing a parallel between the two novels for his readers who had read *Corinne*.³⁶² Although Mary Garland has been a constant topic of discussion for Rowland and Roderick throughout the novel, the reference to *Corinne* is made when she is physically present in Rome to remind Roderick of his engagement – aligning her with Lucille. Within *Roderick Hudson* itself, the two women's reading of the novel may well have sparked their desire to go to Rome; the events of *Corinne* perhaps

³⁶² See also Sarah Wadsworth, 'Innocence Abroad: Henry James and the Re-invention of the American Woman', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 22, Issue 2 (Spring 2001), 107-127, 113-4.

resonating too heavily with Mrs. Hudson; as discussed earlier she already considers Rome to be 'an evil word' (*RH*, 195). It seems natural therefore, for Mrs. Hudson to draw a parallel between the events of the novel and what she imagines to be happening in Rome with Roderick.

The novel seems to have been read mainly for the benefit of Mrs. Hudson. Mary reveals she has been reading in her own time John-Charles-Leonard de Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics* (1807-18), and William Roscoe's *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth* (1805), both serious books of history which seem rather unusual choices for a young woman, as evidenced by Rowland being unable to help laughing. James makes no mention of the two books in any of his letters or reviews of the period, so it is unclear what his opinion of them was. For readers of *Corinne* however, the books would be recognisable from Madame de Staël's footnotes to the novel within which she supplemented her narrative with sources for further reading (*Corinne*, 405-6). It is notable that these footnotes occur at two specific points in the novel. The first, referencing Sismondi's *History*, is from a chapter early in the novel where Corinne shows Lord Nevil around Rome, taking him to the Castel Sant Angelo and Saint Peter's – where the reader is given a strong sense of their falling in love.³⁶³ The second footnote, alluding to Roscoe's *Leo the Tenth*, comes from a chapter where, having revealed his engagement to Lucille, Lord Nevil and Corinne exchange letters explaining the difference between Italian and English attitudes to marriage.³⁶⁴ For the reader of *Roderick Hudson* aware of the events of the novel, this shows that James is clearly trying to direct their attention towards Nevil's duty towards Lucille by pointing out his love for Corinne and the difference between Italian and English notions of faithfulness. James seems less interested in the content of Sismondi and Roscoe in themselves, than in their significance within *Corinne*.

Additionally, the fact that Mary Garland chooses to read these long history books reveals something about her character. In reading them alongside *Corinne*, which she reads for the pleasure of Mrs. Hudson, it demonstrates her rather scrupulous nature. James seems to be suggesting that in

³⁶³ Lord Nevil asks Corinne '[w]ho ever experienced the happiness I enjoy? Rome shown by *you*', whilst they explore the city (*Corinne*, 57 emphasis my own).

³⁶⁴ Corinne writes that in England, 'domestic virtues constitute the glory and happiness of women, but if there are countries where love continues to exist outside the bonds of marriage, Italy is the one, of all those countries, in which women's happiness is best fostered' (*Corinne*, 101). This echoes the discussions to be found in 'At Isella' (see p. 116-7).

tracking down the books from the footnotes, Mary has a somewhat scholarly nature. I would argue that the content of the books is perhaps less important than the fact that Mary Garland is willing to read fifteen volumes of history, drawing attention to her focus on factual works as opposed to Christina's association with fiction and theatre. By associating her with historical studies, James emphasises her interest in facts and realism³⁶⁵; the specific references to what she reads help to draw attention to this aspect of her character, a sharp contrast to the vague preferences Christina expresses. For Rowland, this makes her outlook much clearer, and he seems to appreciate this aspect of her character. James describes her testing his knowledge when Rowland observes her 'during some brief argument, to see whether she would take her forefinger out of her Murray, into which she had inserted it to keep a certain page. It had been hard to say why this point interested him, for he had not the slightest real apprehension that she was dry or pedantic. The simple human truth was, the poor fellow was jealous of science' (*RH*, 394). In keeping her finger in the page that proves her point, Mary reveals herself to be a methodical character, the suggestion being she can be relied on by comparison with Christina.

Rowland and Mary's relationship continues to develop throughout the chapter, particularly through the eyes of Rowland, in a way that echoes the exchanges between Mr. Brooke and Charlotte Evans in 'Travelling Companions'. There, through expressing the differences in their cultural preferences, the two characters were able to come to an understanding in their relationship. In *Roderick Hudson*, James seems to deliberately echo this. As Roderick works on his bust of his mother – the last sculpture he makes – Rowland takes Mary Garland around Rome, and over several days they discuss their differing perceptions of the city and its artifacts. On arrival in Rome, Mary says that she thinks Europe is 'horrible' compared to America; 'all this splendor, all Rome – pictures, ruins, statues, beggars, monks' (*RH*, 384-5). Rowland tries to explain that '[a]ll these things are impregnated with life; they are the fruits of an old and complex civilization', but she merely replies 'I am afraid I don't like that' (*RH*, 385). In 'Travelling Companions' Mr. Brooke is similarly enamoured of Italy, whilst

³⁶⁵ Isabel Archer reads similar subject matter in *The Portrait of a Lady*: 'The foundation of her knowledge was really laid in the idleness of her grandmother's house, where, as most of the other inmates were not reading people, she had uncontrolled use of a library full of books [...] [her mind] had been trudging over the sandy plains of a history of German Thought' (*POAL*, 24-5).

Charlotte Evans remains guarded about the dangers of romance to be found in Italy – when he confesses his love to her, she blames it on the Italian climate (see p. 83).

However, just as Charlotte Evans eventually warms to Mr. Brooke, so does Mary to Rowland. It is fitting that it is in front of a statue of Demosthenes, the great orator, that Mary finally begins to talk to Rowland more openly.³⁶⁶ She expresses a more open attitude to European life: 'I am willing to grant, [...] that Europe is more delightful than I supposed', and associates opening up to Europe with becoming less American, saying to Rowland 'you want me to change – to assimilate Europe, I suppose you would call it' (*RH*, 393). For Rowland however, it is as if through assimilating Europe, she is opening herself to sharing his views about the continent that she previously disagreed with, suggesting a trust forming between them. He already believes her relationship with Roderick is doomed, contemplating 'that fortune possibly had in store for her a bitter disappointment' (*RH*, 394).

There is a moment where she seems to reveal the true reasoning behind her assent to take pleasure in European culture when she rebukes Rowland for not encouraging her in her learning, calling him 'inconsistent. [...] You bade me plunge into all this. I was all ready; I only wanted a little push; yours was a great one; here I am in mid-ocean! And now, as a reward for my bravery, you have repeatedly snubbed me' (*RH*, 394). In saying this, she seems to be suggesting a connection between opening herself up to European culture and allowing herself to get to know Rowland more intimately, so that by not encouraging her, he has made her feel snubbed. Again, in contrast to Christina's coquettish behaviour, Mary concretely states the facts of her feelings, encouraging both Roderick and the reader to view her as a reliable figure.

³⁶⁶ A cast of this was at the Boston Athenaeum, meaning James' readers would have readily recognised it (see p. 39). Murray describes the sculpture as the '[s]tatue of Demosthenes, one of the most celebrated in the collection. It was found near the Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati, and was formerly in the collection of Camuccini' (*MHR*, 212).

It is after these encounters that Rowland observes her doing her needlework, commenting that 'now that he had seen her in several other [attitudes], it was not the least becoming' (*RH*, 398).³⁶⁷ In the context of their exchanges, it serves to associate Mary not only with domesticity in a way that echoes Martha in 'The Last of the Valerii', but also emphasises Rowland's falling in love with her. The reader familiar with 'Travelling Companions' would be used to James' subtle approach to exploring Mr. Brooke and Miss. Evans' courtship, and this chapter seems to incite the reader to infer a similar attraction between Mary and Rowland. The reason for this light touch is rather clear; whilst Rowland is unattached, and therefore James is able to highlight his attraction to Mary clearly, Mary is still engaged to Roderick, and therefore can't explicitly flirt. The touches in this chapter discussed seem to insinuate she shares Rowland's attraction, or at least that Rowland believes this to be the case. Other critics have been rather cynical about the relationship,³⁶⁸ but as I hope to demonstrate in this final section, in addition to drawing parallels between the relationship between Mr. Brooke and Charlotte Evans in this chapter, James also points to their having a happy ending elsewhere in the novel.

The Journey North

To conclude, I want to focus on how James develops an episode in the novel where Roderick and Christina meet alone in the Coliseum late at night, observed by Rowland from afar.³⁶⁹ In this scene, Christina tells Roderick that she fears he is 'small' as an artist and man, and not a great man whom she could love (*RH*, 337). Roderick stays silent in the face of this, but when she looks at a blue flower at the top of a wall of the Coliseum, he sees an opportunity to prove her wrong. However,

³⁶⁷ This also has parallels with the chapter in *Corinne* that contains the footnote about Sismondi's *Italian Republics*. There, after exploring Rome with Corinne, Lord Nevil says 'I shall not give up the ray of happiness that some guardian angel may have shone on me from the heights of heaven' (*Corinne*, 61), insinuating he is falling in love with Corinne and wants to continue having her as his guide to the city's culture. In voicing a similar sentiment after visiting many of the same places in the chapter, Rowland draws parallels between the two novels' motifs of falling in love in Rome.

³⁶⁸ Kenneth Graham, for example, writes that James 'fails to show [Mary] in a very convincing relationship with either Roderick or Rowland'. Kenneth Graham, *Henry James: The Drama of Fulfilment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 47.

³⁶⁹ James was to reuse this motif in *Daisy Miller*, where the main character, Winterbourne, observes Daisy with an Italian man late at night in the Coliseum.

Rowland prevents him from undertaking the dangerous task. James then writes a variation on this scene later in the novel, when the action has moved to the Swiss Alps. Rowland sees that Mary admires a flower on top of a cliff, and successfully climbs up to pluck it for her.

The blue flower, as Adeline Tintner discusses, 'would have been recognisable by the educated reader as the contribution of German Romanticism, for it is the icon of the chief German Romantic poet Novalis, whose longest work was the unfinished *Heinrich Von Ofterdingen*; its hero's search for the mysterious blue flower is an allegory of the poet's life.'³⁷⁰ Tintner is certainly right to make the connection, but I would disagree with her interpretation that James uses it simply as 'Christina's symbol', i.e. that it represents Roderick's attempt to "pluck" Christina. In the context of the conversation they have prior to the episode, where Christina tells him that he doesn't have enough of 'the sacred fire' of a man 'large in character, great in talent, strong in will', it seems more to do with his ambitions as an artist; she admonishes him for not working hard enough: 'it's ten to one that in the long run you're a failure' (RH, 335). As Boyeson was to write about Novalis in the *Atlantic* a few months later, in reaching for the flower, Roderick seems to be attempting to reach for a number of unattainable ideals; the ideal man that he needs to be to succeed as Christina's suitor, the ideal art he needs to create to do so, and the ideal woman in the form of Christina. It is important that it is Rowland who prevents Roderick from scaling the wall, as at this point Rowland is still Roderick's patron. By the final chapter he has lost patience with him, and when Roderick asks for money to pursue Christina in Interlaken, despite knowing that she is married and how it would insult Mary Garland, Rowland ceases to care for him, absolving himself of the responsibility of guardianship. Here, without Rowland's guidance, Roderick, having already destroyed his artistic idealism, in reaching for his ideal in the form of Christina, literally falls to his death.

³⁷⁰ Adeline Tintner, 'Roderick Hudson: A Centennial Reading', in *The Henry James Review*, Vol. 2, Issue 3 (Spring 1981), 172-198, 181, hereafter TintRH. In the novel's opening chapter, Henry dreams of searching for the elusive blue flower: "'...only when I do not have the flower clearly before my mind's eye does a deep inner turmoil seize me.'" [...] He saw nothing but the the blue flower and gazed upon it long with inexpressible tenderness. Finally, when he wanted to approach the flower, it all at once began to move and change; the leaves became more glistening and cuddled up to the growing stem; the flower leaned towards him and its petals displayed an expanded blue corolla wherein a delicate face hovered'. Novalis, *Henry Von Ofterdingen*, trans. by Palmer Milty (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press Inc., 1964), 15-17.

Tintner connects the Coliseum scene with the corresponding one in the Alps at the end of the novel, where Rowland undertakes a similarly dangerous climb to pick a flower for Mary Garland, although we need not entirely accept her certainty that 'like Roderick, he never wins the girl it symbolises' (TintRH, 182). Here the flower is not described in any detail, so it is not clear if James intends it to be perceived as blue, and therefore carrying the same connotations as Roderick's. James has prefigured the connection between the two scenes by discussing the Coliseum in comparison to the Alps:

There are chance anfractuositities of ruin in the upper portions of the Coliseum which offer a very fair imitation of the rugged face of an Alpine cliff. In those days a multitude of delicate flowers and sprays of wild herbage had found a friendly soil in the hoary crevices, and they bloomed and nodded amid the antique masonry as freely as they would have done in the virgin rock (RH, 333-4).

James once again returns to the fact that the flowers had by the time he was writing the novel been plucked away by 'government [...] functionaries', a point he had made in 'A Roman Holiday' and alluded to in 'The Last of the Valerii' (see p. 168).³⁷¹ This passage has more in common with the travel sketch than the tale; in it James makes a virtually identical comparison between the Alps and the Coliseum:

Sitting down a while, generally at the foot of the cross in the centre [...] I always feel, as I do so, as if I were seated in the depths of some Alpine valley. The upper portions of the side toward the Esquiline look as remote and lonely as an Alpine ridge, and you raise your eyes to their rugged sky-line, drinking in the sun and silvered by the blue air, with much the same feeling as you would take in a grey cliff on which an eagle might lodge (ARH, 6).

Building on the travel sketch's imagery, the novel emphasises the similarity between Roman culture and Alpine nature. This helps to draw out the sense that the two have some point of comparison in the sense that they are both slightly alien to Americans, and are specifically European sites of interest.

³⁷¹ Henry James, 'A Roman Holiday', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 32, Issue 189 (July 1873), 1-11, 6, hereafter ARH.

In the Alps scene, Rowland directly compares the situation to the Coliseum scene: ‘as he stood there, he remembered Roderick’s defiance of danger and of Miss Light, at the Coliseum, and he was seized with a strong desire to test the courage of his companion’ (*RH*, 472). The main point of the Alps scene, in contrast to that at the Coliseum, is that Rowland *is* successful in reaching for the flower for his beloved, despite being unable to say he loves her, due to her continuing engagement to the neglectful Roderick: ‘He felt that it was physically possible to say [he had picked the flower], “Because I love you!” but that it was not morally possible’ (*RH*, 473). However, it is important to note that the flower is not described in detail; we are not even told of its colour, and Mary says ‘I wish it were something better’, showing she either doesn’t see the significance of it for Rowland, or is unable, as Roderick’s fiancée, to acknowledge it (*RH*, 472). In this sense, the flower may stand for a more humble form of love than Roderick’s ideal love represented by the blue flower of the Coliseum. In not reaching for an unattainable ideal, Rowland is able to pick the flower, despite the physical and moral risk he takes in doing so. The picking of the flower can be read as insinuating that Rowland will go on to be successful in courting Mary Garland. The novel concludes back in America, where Rowland continues to visit Mary Garland regularly, suggesting to his cousin, ‘I am the most patient!’ (*RH*, 511). This once more echoes the parallel between the two lovers in ‘Travelling Companions’; Mr. Brooke’s patience with Charlotte Evans eventually pays off, and they marry. This final sentence ends the novel on a hopeful note for Rowland.

At the novel’s heart is the conflict between idealism and realism in two key areas of life: art and love. Roderick’s American idealism draws him into dangerous territory in both areas, whilst James provides his audience with alternative models of behaviour. These appear in the form of Sam Singleton in the art world, who reappears at the end of the novel a successful artist, and Rowland in the love story, who it seems may go on to marry Mary Garland. In this sense, the novel rewrites the Daedalus and Icarus myth, with Roderick, the idealistic American reaching too high, and eventually falling. Particularly in his use of allusions to ‘The Madonna of the Future’, James is able to enhance the novel’s motif of Roderick’s ‘fall’ for readers of his work familiar with this earlier tale. Similarly, the use of allusions to his other tales serves a similar purpose; they may not be necessary to the reader’s understanding of the novel, but they help enhance the novel for those readers already familiar with James’ oeuvre.

Conclusion:

The departure from Italy in *Roderick Hudson* also coincides with James' own desire to write about different subject matter. To conclude, I want to briefly explore James' next few encounters with publishers to explore how he moved the focus of his writing from Italy to France in the following few years, leading to the serialisation of his Parisian novel, *The American* (1877). In this sense, *Roderick Hudson's* reversal of the route of the narrator in 'At Isella' – up into Switzerland – coincides with his intentions to move on from Italy to a fresh European subject – France – in his next novel. In looking at how James establishes relationships with various magazines where he could publish work on French subject matter, I aim to draw parallels between his treatment of France at this later stage, and his previous treatment of Italy in a way that emphasises how he uses the American desire for European subject matter in magazines to create demand for his fiction. I do not have space to focus on the content of the articles James writes, I merely want to note the similarity between the way he associates his name with Italy in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the way he attempts to associate his name with France in the *New York Tribune* and the *Galaxy*, where he initially intended *The American* to be published; it was eventually serialised in the *Atlantic Monthly*. James seems to have selected the *Galaxy* as a magazine in which to showcase his work on French culture, in much the same way he associated his name in the *Atlantic* with Italian culture. The *Galaxy* had already published 'The Sweetheart of Monsieur Briseux' (1873) and 'Madame de Mauves' (1874); the latter was also collected in *A Passionate Pilgrim and Other Tales*. Both of these tales are set in France, suggesting James wanted to keep his work about Italy associated with the *Atlantic* for the time being, whilst publishing work about other parts of Europe in separate magazines. Although James had already published articles about Italy and other subject matter in the *Galaxy*, he subsequently went on to focus on sending them exclusively French themed writing.

In August of 1875, around four months after *Roderick Hudson* had been completed – having promised Howells 'the balance' of his novel around April 10th (CL1872-76:2, 215) – James approached an editorial writer for the *New York Tribune*, offering his services as a travel correspondent in Paris. Here James volunteers to write 'regular correspondence with a newspaper

– non-political (I mean of course the correspondence) & tolerably frequent: say three or four letters a month' (*CL1872-76:2*, 225). He frames the request in a similar way to his encouragement of Howells to publish his Italian subject matter, by focusing on the demand for it: '[t]here is apparently in the American public an essential appetite, & a standing demand, for information about all Parisian things. It is a general thing rather flimsily & vulgarly supplied, & my notion would be to undertake and supply it in a more intelligent and cultivated fashion' (*CL1872-76:2*, 225). Here James seems keen to emphasise the cultural aspect of the work he intends to do, clearly eager to build on his reputation within magazines as writing material for the more educated reader. This is a similar approach to the way he published articles about Italy in the *Boston Independent* and the *Atlantic Monthly*; but by approaching a different magazine, James is also widening his audience, presumably with a view to increasing his book sales. The first article for the *New York Tribune* – 'Paris Revisited' – appeared in the December 11th edition of the paper.

Between August and December 1875, having moved to Paris in November of that year, James published a number of articles in the *Galaxy*. All of these articles dealt exclusively with French subject matter, with the exception of his allegorical tale 'Benvolio' (Aug. 1875). The remaining four articles were: 'Three French Books' (Aug. 1875), 'The Letters of Madame de Sabran' (Oct. 1875), 'The Two Ampères' (Nov. 1875), and 'Honoré de Balzac' (Dec. 1875). This is a similar pattern to his method of supplying the *Atlantic* with Italian articles and tales. Although not much correspondence between James and the editors of the *Galaxy* – the Churches – survives, an extract of a letter dated December 1st 1875 contains James' proposal to send them the opening chapters of *The American*, saying he 'particularly desire[d] it to come out without delay' (*CL1872-76:3*, 13). Considering James' submission of so many articles on French fiction in the *Galaxy*, this suggests that he was attempting to encourage the readers of the magazine to view him as an authority on French culture – all the articles were published in his name – and wanted to capitalise on this with publication of *The American*. This not only served to widen his audience, but also meant that he wasn't constantly appearing in print in the *Atlantic*, therefore reducing the chance of him oversupplying the demand for his work.

However, when the Churches delayed publication – for unknown reasons – James fortuitously received a request from Howells for a novel to be serialised in the *Atlantic*. He replied on the 3rd of February 1876, expressing his ‘extreme preference to have the thing appear in the *Atlantic*’, and promising the novel to Howells if the Churches should delay in publishing it further (CL1872-76:3, 58). When the Churches had still not published the novel by the 3rd of March, James wrote to them requesting that if they were unable to publish it in the May issue, to return the manuscript so it could appear elsewhere. By the beginning of April, Howells had ‘got hold’ of the manuscript (CL1872-76:3, 94), and began serialising it promptly in June 1876. The episode, although not damaging to the success of the novel, demonstrates that James, despite having a clear preference for publishing material for the *Atlantic*, was pragmatic about needing to appeal to a wider audience, so focused his efforts on the *Galaxy* as a way of building a larger readership.



(fig. 59) Murillo, *The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin* (n.d.), Louvre Gallery, Paris.

However, *The American*, although apparently designed for the *Galaxy* in much the same way James “designed” *Roderick Hudson* for the *Atlantic*, seems to have been written with a wider audience

than just his *Galaxy* readership in mind. This becomes clear in the novel’s opening scene where James begins the narrative with a tableau of the protagonist, Christopher Newman, sitting in the Louvre, ‘staring at Murillo’s beautiful moon-borne Madonna in profound enjoyment of his posture’ (fig. 59).³⁷² For regular readers of the *Atlantic Monthly*, regardless of whether they were reading the novel in the *Galaxy* or the *Atlantic*, this would have echoed an unsigned article James wrote in 1875 entitled ‘The Duke of Montpensier’s Pictures in Boston’, in which James described Murillo’s portrayal of the Madonna in great detail, writing that ‘the fact that his Virgins are hard-

³⁷² Henry James, ‘*The American*’, in *Novels 1871-1880* (New York: Library of America: 1983), 515-872, 515.

handed peasant women makes his inspiration seem more sacred, rather than less so'.³⁷³ Here James' work once again seems to draw on material from his own oeuvre for the benefit of those who had read his other work. The fact that James is drawing on material he published in the *Atlantic* in a novel intended for another magazine seems to suggest he was writing less solely for the *Galaxy's* readers, and more with his wider readership in mind, particularly when his novel appeared in book form.

This cursory look at the publication history of *The American* highlights not only the importance of magazine culture in a writer's career during this point of American literary history, but also shows that the approach this thesis has taken is potentially useful for studying other areas of James' writing career. For example, once settled in London in the late 1870s, James began to write for British periodicals. It would be worth exploring whether James attempts to reach a brand new English audience in a similar fashion. Overall, this thesis has attempted to contribute to the current body of scholarship debunking the traditional notion of James as an author unconcerned with his readership, and it is my hope that it has been successful in suggesting a new angle from which one can explore and enhance one's understanding of James' literary works.

³⁷³ Henry James, 'The Duke of Montpensier's Pictures in Boston', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 74, Issue 205 (Nov. 1874), 633-637, 634.

Appendix: Biographies of Magazine Contributors

Lyman Abbott (1835-1922):

Congregational clergyman and editor of the *Outlook*, previously *Christian Union*. Regular contributor to popular magazines such as *Harper's Monthly*, *Century*, and *North American Review*.

Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836 – 1907):

Boston based novelist and poet. Regularly contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly*, succeeding Howells as its editor in 1881. Also edited *Every Saturday*. Known for his poetry, and his short story, *Marjorie Daw*.

William Francis Allen (1830-1889):

American classical scholar, and editor of the first book of American slave songs: *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867).

B. W. Ball (? - ?):

It is unclear exactly who B. W. Ball was; he was a regular contributor to various magazines including the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Galaxy*. Emerson describes a B. W. Ball as being 'a prodigious reader and a youth of great promise' in a letter from 1843³⁷⁴.

Samuel Greene Wheeler Benjamin (1837 – 1914):

Miscellaneous writer, painter, and diplomat. Known for his marine paintings, and wrote on various subjects, including travel and contemporary art.

Eugene Benson (1839 – 1908):

Art critic, painter, and essayist. Particularly known for his writing about French art. His Venetian villa Palazzo Capello served as the model for the setting of James' *Aspern Papers*. Later wrote a series of essays on neglected Italian art, collected as *Art and Nature in Italy*.

Hjalmer Hjorth Boyeson (1848 – 1895):

Academic and novelist. Professor of German at Cornell University in 1874. Serialised his novel *Gunnar: A Tale of Norse Life* in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1873, leading to a strong friendship with William Dean Howells.

Junius Henri Browne (1833 – 1902):

Journalist who rose to prominence in the Civil War. War correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, later wrote on European subject matter for various American magazines.

William Cullen Bryant (1794 – 1878):

Poet, known as the "American Wordsworth". Best known for poetry relating to natural scenery and objects of nature. A scholar of Greek and Latin from a young age.

William Conant Church (1836 – 1917):

New York-based Journalist. Founder of the *Galaxy Magazine* along with his brother, Francis Pharcellus Church. Also helped found the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1870.

Sarah Clarke (1840 - 1929):

Artist and contributor to magazines. Also wrote children's books such as *Little Miss Wheezy* (1886) and *Boy Donald* (1900) under the pseudonym Penn Shirley.

John Fiske (1842 – 1901):

Philosopher and historian. Supporter of the findings of evolution, and regularly contributed articles on the subject to the *North American Review*. Known as "the largest author in America" – he weighed over 300 pounds.

³⁷⁴ F. B. Sanborn, 'The Emerson-Thoreau Correspondence', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 69, Issue 415 (May 1892), 577-597, 586.

Frank Boott Goodrich (1826 – 1894):

Playwright and writer. Started, but never completed, a series of translations of Balzac's novels. Travelled extensively after his sight failed in 1865.

Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829 – 1869):

Pianist and composer. Performed across Europe and the Americas, and was considered one of the greatest pianists of his period.

Alfred Hudson Guernsey (1824 - 1902):

Editor of *Harper's Magazine* and *The American Cyclopaedia*. Contributed a number of articles to various periodicals on historical subjects. Also wrote *Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War* (1866).

Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823 – 1911):

New England "man of letters", and one of the leaders of the extreme abolitionist movement. Later wrote a biography of Margaret Fuller in 1884.

George Stillman Hillard (1808 – 1879):

Editor and miscellaneous writer. Editor of the *Christian Register* and the *Jurist*. Wrote *Six Months in Italy*, a travel book based on his European journey of 1847.

Josiah Gilbert Holland (1819 – 1881):

Co-founder of *Scribner's Monthly* and a medical doctor. Also known for writing poems, histories, and a biography of Abraham Lincoln.

James Jackson Jarves (1818 – 1888):

Journalist, diplomat, and art connoisseur. Wrote extensively about Art in Italy, having lived in Florence for a number of years. Books included *Italian Sights and Papal Principles* (1855), *Art Studies: The "Old Masters" of Italy; Painting* (1861), and *Art Thoughts, the Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* (1870).

Justin McCarthy (1830 – 1912):

Irish journalist, historian, and novelist. Hugely popular in the States as well as in the UK. Contributed a number of essays and novels to the *Galaxy* in particular.

James Florant Meline (1811 - 1873):

Non-fiction writer. Wrote a biography of Mary Queen of Scots (1872), and a travel book: *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback: A Summer Tour to the Plains, the Rocky Mountains, and New Mexico* (1867).

John Neal (1793 – 1876):

Novelist and miscellaneous writer. Editor of various magazines including *Portico*, and the *New England Galaxy*; the first editor to encourage Edgar Allen Poe.

William James Stillman (1828 – 1901):

Artist, journalist, and diplomat. Served as American consul in Rome from 1862 to 1865, and in Crete from 1865 to 1868. Spent much of his later years as a correspondent in Rome for the *Times*.

Russell Sturgis Jr. (1836 – 1909):

Architect and critic. Trained in Munich, and was a champion of the artistic and cultural awakening of late nineteenth-century America, especially New York. Advocate of independent American artistic identity and architectural reform in numerous magazines and periodicals.

Bayard Taylor (1825 – 1878):

Poet, novelist, and travel writer. Edited various magazines including *Union Magazine*, and was literary editor of the *Tribune*. Travelled extensively, and wrote a number of novels and travel sketchbooks arising from the experiences.

James Maurice Thompson (1844 – 1901):

Miscellaneous writer and editor. Wrote extensively for the *Atlantic Monthly* and other popular magazines, including a number of poems.

Henry Theodore Tuckerman (1830 – 1871):

Bostonian “man of letters”. Travelled to Italy, after which he wrote *The Italian Sketch Book* (1835), and a book of poems, mostly devoted to his fascination with Italian culture.

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